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Some Aspects of Bahmani Culture

By

H. K. Sherwani.

The Empire of the Bahmanīs, along with its succession states, may be regarded as the connecting link between two great centripetal tendencies, that of the Khiljīs and Tughluqs and that of the Mughals. It was the direct result of the great extent which the Sultanate of Delhi had reached in the time of 'Alāu'd-dīn Khiljī Qutbu'd-dīn Mūbārak Shāh Khiljī and Muḥammad bin Tughluq by the conquest not only of the plateau of the Deccan but even of the far South. Muḥammad bin Tughluq tried to make a sort of a compromise between centripetal and centrifugal tendencies by the establishment of two capitals, one the traditional capital at Delhi and another, the central capital at Daulatābād;[1] but this proved to be unworkable, and with the abandonment of Daulatabad, the centrifugal tendencies again became strong ending in the disruption of the Empire in his own time and the setting up of the new kingdom of the Deccan.

1. *"Second capital at Daulatabad"*—For this topic see Mahdī Ḥusain, *Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq*, London, 1938, pp. 108 ff.; Browne, *Some Phases of the Character and Policy of Muḥammad bin Tughluq*, Journal of the U. P. Historical Society, June 1918, p. 12. Maṭlūbu't-Ṭālibīn, India Office MSS. 653, quoted by Mahdi Husain, pp. 113, 114; 'Abdu'l-lāh el Makkī: Ẓafaru' Wālih III, 863.

The history of the Bahmanī dynasty may be divided into two distinct epochs indicated respectively by the Gulbargā and the Bīdar periods. There is a great difference in the character of the two epochs, and what happened in 1430 was not merely a change of capital from one town to another but a change in the very basis of government. The period during which Gulbargā, which soon replaced Daulatābād as the capital of the new state and the centre of the new culture, was entirely formative in character, and the ruler had not only to make his position secure from within but to fight external enemies as well. The ambition of the first Bahmanī, 'Alāu'd-dīn Ḥasan Bahman Shāh, knew no bounds, for he wished not only to suppress the insurrections which were instigated mostly by the agents of the Sultan of Delhi but even to conquer the whole of the erstwhile Tughluq dominions.[2] The second of the line, Muḥammad I,[3] further strengthened the kingdom by his administrative innovations, while Mujāhid[4] reformed the military side especially by the greater use he made of the new weapon, the gunpowder, which had crept into the Bahmanī army as early as his father

2. 'Alāu'd-dīn Ḥasan Bahman Shāh ascended the throne according to the contemporary 'Iṣāmī (*Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn*, ed. Mahdī Ḥusain, Agra, 1938, p. 525), followed by Ferishtā, *Gulshan-i Ibrahīmī*, on Friday, 24-6-748 H. With this evidence Burhān-i Ma'āsir's 8-8-748 H., cannot be credited. The date of the accession of his successor as given by *Bur.*, viz., 758 H. is also obviously wrong; the only other date that we have is that given by *Fer.*, viz., 1-3-759 H. Bahman Shāh, therefore, reigned for 10 years, 8 months and 5 days which is slightly less than 11 years, 2 months and 7 days given by *Bur.*, and Tabaqāt-i Akbarī as the duration of his reign by about 4 months. This, however, cannot be helped as *Bur.*, is not exact as to the date of his accession and is obviously inaccurate about the date of the accession of his successor, while Tab., does not give the date either of his or his successor's accession. We may, therefore, take it that 'Alāu'd-dīn Bahman Shāh ascended the throne on 24-4-748/3-8-1347 and died on 1-3-759/11-2-1358.

3. Muḥammad I ascended the throne on 1-3-759/11-2-1358. He reigned according to *Bur.*, for 17 years or 18 years 7 months (*Tab.*, is obviously wrong with its 13 years). His successor ascended the throne according to *Fer.*, on 19-10-776/23-3-1375. He therefore reigned for 17 years, 7 months and 8 days which comes midway between Burhan's two periods.

4. *Mujāhid*—For the date of accession and death of this king *see* Venkataramanayya, *Mujāhid Shāh Bahmanī*, Indian History Congress, Hyderabad Session, where he rightly considers Ferishtā's dates, i.e., 19-10-776/23-3-1375—17-12-779/15-4-1378, as correct.

Muḥammad I's region.[5] Mujahid was murdered by his uncle Dawud,[6] but the latter did not live long and was succeeded by Muḥammad II (who is wrongly called Maḥmūd I by Ferishta),[7] and this king's reign is marked by the impetus he gave to the spread of learning in the kingdom and the early contact with the *savants* of countries bordering on India. Muḥammad's is a peaceful reign during which the Deccan was blessed by contentment and the spread of knowledge and culture. The period following Muḥammad, however, proved to be one of the darkest in the annals of the Deccan, for his three successors, Ghiaṣu'd-dīn,

5. *Gunpowder in India*—We find a regular department of "Ātishbārī" as early as 767/-1366, when 300 gun carriages were employed in the siege of Adōni by Muḥammad I, *Fer*. I. 290. This was many decades before 'Abdu'r-Razzāq's mention of pyrotechny at Vijayanagar and nearly forty years before the Chinaman Mahuan saw fierarms in Bengal in 1406; see Gode, *Use of Guns and Gunpowder in India*, Denison Ross Commemoration Volume, Poona, 1939, p. 117.

6. *Dawūd*—Only *Fer*., gives the date of his accession, 17-12-799/15-4-1378. *Fer*., says that he reigned for one month and five days while *Tab*., has one month and three days. This would fix the date of his murder to be 22-1-780 H. or 24-1-780 H. We know that Dawud was murdered while offering his Friday prayers and 22-1-780/21-5-1378 was a Friday, so we can fix up that date as that of the end of his reign.

7. The genealogy and even the name of Muḥammad II is wrongly given by *Fer*., as Maḥmūd s/o 'Alāu'd-dīn Bahman Shāh. Muḥammad was really a grandson and not a son of the first Bahmani. For a discussion *see* Sherwani, H.K., *Maḥmūd Gāwān the Great Bahmanī Wazīr*, pp. 56-57. Accession date, as above, 22-1-780/21-5-1378. Reigned according to *Fer*., for 19 years, 9 months and 20 days and according to *Tab*., 19 years, 9 months and 24 days. But both *Fer*., and *Tab*., are definite that the next king Ghiāṣu'd-dīn ascended the throne on 21-7-799 H., or 7-7-799 H., and *Tab*., has that he reigned for 1 month and 20 days, which makes his deposition to be in Ramaḍān 799 H. While the next incumbent's succession date as given by *Fer*., *Bur*., and *Tab*., happens to be the 17th Ramaḍān 799, one of the few definitely fixed dates in the whole geneology. We may therefore infer the following:

Muḥammad II .. 22-1-788/21-5-1378 — 21-7-799/20-4-1397;
Ghiyāṣ'd-dīn .. 21-7-799/20-4-1397 — 17-9-799/14-6-1397;
Shamsu'd-dīn Dāwūd II, acc. 17-9-799/14-6-1397.

Shamsu'd-dīn Dāwūd II reigned for 5 years and 7 months both according to *Fer*., and *Bur*. So we may put his successor Fīrōz's accession as being on 24-2-800 H., which corresponds with *Bur*.'s "Safar 800,", and definitely with *Tab*.'s 24-2-800/ 17-11-1397.

Shamsu'd-dīn Dāwūd II and Fīrōz[8] were either murdered or deposed, and it was perhaps in order to change the whole bloodthirsty atmosphere thus prevalent in the court at Gulbargā that Aḥmad I[9] changed his capital to the fertile and fruitbearing Bīdar, which even now boasts one of the finest climates in H.E.H. The Nizam's Dominions.

Coming over to the Bīdar period, we immediately see how, except for the perennial conflict between the descendants of the colonists from Delhi and Upper India and the new immigrants from Persia and Overseas, the conflict, that is to say, between the so-called "Deccanīs" and the "Āfāqīs," the Old-Comers and the New-Comers,[10] there is an orderly government and orderly succession to the throne. Aḥmad is succeeded by his son 'Alāu'd-dīn Aḥmad II, who in turn gives place to the much maligned Humāyūn followed by Nizamu'd-dīn Aḥmad III, and Shamsud'd-din, Muḥammad III.[11] Except for a series of insurrections by a

8. *Fīrōz*—Acceded to the throne 24-2-800/17-11-1397 and reigned according to *Tab.*, for 25 years, 7 months and 11 days which take us to 4-10-825 H., and which nearly corresponds with 5-10-825/22-9-1421 on which *Fer.*, *Bur.*, and *Tab.*, are all agreed as being the date of his successor's accession.

9. Shīhābu'd-dīn Aḥmad I ascended the throne on 5-10-825/22-9-1421 bringing us to 28-7-837/3-3-1434 which is less than *Tab.*'s date, 20-7-837 H., by only 8 days and may be regarded as approximately correct. The change of the capital to Bīdar was affected in 833/1430 according to *Fer.*, I 324, but an inscription recently found on clearing the debris of the *Solha Khambh* mosque in the Bīdar Fort says that the mosque was built in 827/-1424 by the king's favourite son Prince Muḥammad after whom Bidar was renamed Muḥammadābād, see *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1931-32, p. 27.

10. For the history of this question see *Maḥmūd Gāwān*, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-71.

11. *'Alāu'd-dīn Aḥmad II, Ḥumāyūn, Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad III, Shamsu'd-dīn Muhammad III*—Counting backwards we find with plausible certainty that Muḥammad III died in the first week of Ṣafar 887/March 1482 (1st according to *Fer.*, and 5th according to *Bur.*) while both *Fer.*, and *Bur.*, are agreed that he ascended the throne on 13-11-867/31-7-1463. The accession of his predecessor Niẓāmu'd-din Aḥmad III is given by *Fer.*, as on 28-11-865/7-9-1461, and by *Bur.*, just one day earlier, which would make his reign extend to 1 year 11 months and 15 or 16 days. This nearly corresponds to *Bur.*'s estimate at 2 years, 10 months and 14 days, while *Fer.*'s 2 months 1 day and *Tab.*'s 11 months and 2 days are obvious mistakes.

Now in footnote 9 we have seen that Shīhābu'd-dīn Aḥmad I reigned up to 28-7-837/3-3-1434. His son 'Alāu'd-dīn Aḥmad II was on the throne for 23 years, 9 months and 2 days, according to *Fer.*, and 23 years 9 months according to *Tab.* He must therefore have died on 28th or 30th Rabī II (not Jamādī II as given

pretender to the throne in the time of Humāyūn, which he put down first with the new policy of compromise and then with a hard hand, the succession to the throne was as peaceful as possible and was notably different from the murderous policy of the pretenders and successors to the throne in the case of the Gulbarga Bahmanis.

There is one other difference between the Gulbargā and the Bīdar Sultanates. The rule of the earlier Bahmanīs was marked by the great learning of some of the rulers themselves and the Sultans at Gulbargā made their mark in the world of Oriental knowledge. This is perhaps not so in the case of most of the Bīdar Sulṭāns who were all matter-of-fact persons with a strong inclination towards the sword rather than towards the pen. The Bīdar Sultanate was marked by the presence of a great administrator Malik Saifu'd-dīn Ghōrī who was the creator of Bahmanī administration and who lived through five reigns, dying at the advanced age of 107 one day after the death of Muḥammad II on 20th April, 1397. The colleague of 'Alau'd-dīn Hasan Bahman Shāh, the father-in-law of Muḥammad I and the prime minister of three other Sultans, Ghōrī not only steered the ship of state through smooth as well as rough waters, but actually put down the principles of sound government for the guidance of his sovereign in his brochure, the Nasaihu'l-Muluk. This short but illuminating pamphlet contains among other things, the perquisites of a good ruler, of his prime minister and other ministers, of the worth of counsel in political matters, of civil and mili-

by *Bur.*,) 862 H., corresponding to 7-3-1457. Taking this date to be that of Humāyūn's successor Aḥmad III's accession, we find that Ḥumāyūn must have reigned 3 years, 6 months and 28 days which comes very near the duration of his reign as given by *Fer.*, and 3 years, 6 months and 5 days as given by *Tab*. *Bur.*'s 6 months and 5 days is obviously a mistake for 3 years 6 months and 5 days. We come to the following conclusion:—

Chronology of the Earlier Bidar Sultans up to Muḥammad III.

'Alāu'd-dīn Aḥmad II	.. 28-7-837/3-3-1434	—	29-4-862/7-3-1457;
Ḥumāyūn	.. 29-4-862/7-3-1457	—	28-11-865/7-9-1461;
Niẓamu'd-dīn Aḥmad III	.. 28-11-865/7-9-1461	—	13-11-867/31-7-1463;
Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammad III	13-11-867/31-71-463	—	5-2-887/27-3-1482.

tary officers and of general principles of administration.[12] The Bīdar period was, however, not so blessed by ministers of outstanding merit till the advent of Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ on the political stage. The "if"s of history are always interesting though perhaps they lead us nowhere, but is well worth pondering whether the Bahmanī Kingdom would have lasted even so long as it did if the great personalities of Humāyuṇ's widow Makhdūma-i Jahāṇ and of Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ had not propped it up with all their integrity, farsightedness and might.

On the establishment of the new dynasty, the Deccan was cut off from the North by the iron wall of political integrity and it was almost a foregone conclusion that it should get its inspiration direct from Persia and Overseas. It must be pointed out here that Persia of 14th or 15th century was the centre of a great Aryo-Semitic culture which was then taking the place of the pure Semitic civilisation which was the basis of the Caliphate at Baghdād. For it was during these centuries that decentralisation had set in the Abbasid Caliphate, and Persian and Turkish dynasties like the Buwaihids, the Ḥamdanids, the Ghaznavids and the Seljūqids were establishing their sway in the far flung corners of the realm of Baghdād and in turns completely overpowering its effete edifice. It was these dynasties which became great centres of culture, and the cultural influence which these centres exercised on the Deccan was considerable.

In spite of this, those who set up the Bahmanī Kingdom originally came from the North and it was only natural that they should have brought great traditions along with them in the matter of political institutions, nomenclature of officials, coinage and even architecture. The influence of the North is evidenced by some of the royal tombs at Gulbarga, specially the tombs of the first two Bahmanī Sulṭāns. 'Alāu-'d-din's tomb is a very simple, modest structure, the mortuary chamber

12. Unfortunately I have only been able to lay my hand on a translation of the Naṣāih, one by 'Abdu'l-Ghaffar Khāṇ of Malkāpūr included in his Tathkira Salaṭin-i Dakan, pp. 75-82, who says that his original Persian copy was lost in the floods of the Mūsī river of Hyderabad, and although it is difficult to judge the genuineness of the authorship from a mere translation, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary we may well regard the work as from the pen of Malik Saifu'd-dīn Ghōrī to whom it has been ascribed.

being 40½ ft. sq., built on a platform about 4 ft. in height. The dome is flat shaped in the traditional Tughluq style, while the walls have a definite slope towards the base. The finials and the bouquets on the four corners are reminiscent of the contemporary Delhi tradition, while the door-ways are wider at their base than near the springers suggesting how the architect has counteracted his thrust of the dome. Muḥammad I's tomb is built more or less in the same style but is even smaller than his father's, measuring only 26 ft. sq.[13]

The first Sultan of the Deccan, 'Alau'd-din Ḥasan Bahman Shāh was a man of firm resolve, yet it is remarkable that he never showed the slightest tinge of cruelty in his dealing with the partisans of the Tughluq faction or against the Hindu Rāyas and Muqaddams against whom he had to struggle. He went one step forward and abolished the levy of the Jiziah, a tax really meant for the protection of the non-Muslims, but which had become an eye-sore to the Hindu subjects of the Sultan.[14] The Hindu chiefs of the Deccan were so much reconciled that when the King decided to marry his son Muḥammad to Malik Saifu'd-dīn Ghōrī's daughter in June 1351 the Rayas of Kaulas, Shakarkhāṛa and Mudgal were invited as his honoured guests.[15]

We are not aware of the repast that was provided to the royal guests, Hindu and Muslim, who gathered together on that great occasion, but fortunately we have the menu of another royal banquet provided by the Wazīr Khwaja-i Jahāṇ at Gulbargā on the occasion of the progress of the Sultan to quell a rebellion at Sāgar. It was exactly an eighth part of the day when the trumpeters announced that the banquet was ready. Silk tapestries were spread for table cloths and bread was distributed on them evenly. Then came roasts of various kinds, curry puffs, cooked vegetables; raw celery and salad along with big and small game as well as gravied curries while "wet and dry sweets" and halvas were provided to finish with. The meal ended with the

13. Report of *Hyderabad Archaeological Department*, 1925-26, p. 1 and 2.

14. Sherwani, *Establishment of the Bahmanī Kingdom*, Journal of Indian History, December, 1941. Jiziah; 'Abdu'l-Jabbār, *op. cit.*, 121, quoting Mulḥiqāt-i Tabaqāt-i Nāṣirī by 'Ainu'd-dīn Bījāpurī, a contemporary of the first Bahmanī.

15. *Fer.*, I. 278.

distribution of betel leaves and presentation of the nobles and leaders of the army to the royal guests.[16]

The reign of Muḥammad Shah I was a period of what may be called institutionalising and centralising of the kingdom, and the hand of the Sultan as well of his minister, Malik Saifu'd-din Ghōrī may be seen in military as well as civil reforms, the division of the kingdom into provinces and the renaming of the great officer of state. The first Bahmanī had, in a way, risen from the ranks, and in order to keep back his erstwhile equals in their proper places it was necessary to hedge round the Sultan with a certain amount of dignity and prestige. Muhammad was the man for this, and he was fully prepared to take advantage of the beautiful ebony throne presented to him by the Raya of Tilangana. This Takht-i Fīrōzā or Turquoise Throne was 9 x 6 ft., inlaid with priceless jewels to such an extent that the original black ebony gradually became covered with jewels from end to end. It was called Turquoise Throne because originally it was covered with turquoise enamel.[17] Muḥammad Shah used to hold a durbar on all week days except Fridays in the Hall of Public Audience in the Gulbarga Fort. Carpets of silk of the highest value were spread and shamianas of the cloth of gold erected in front of the hall. The king came and took his seat on the throne when the first eighth of the day had expired and remained there till the call to the noon prayers at about 1 p.m. The durbar was open to all and sundry without reference to the caste, creed or religion of the darbarīs or suppliants.[18] This throne became the chief emblem of royalty and remained in the dynasty till the reign of Moḥmūd Shah[19] on the eve of the break-up of the Empire, and he, out of sheer penury, had it broken up for the upkeep of the court![20]

The Great Mosque in the Gulbarga Fort testifies to the taste of the Second Bahmanī during the latter part of whose reign it was erected. As Mr. Yazdani says, "there is a cloister of wide-spanned arches

16. 'Iṣāmi, p. 549.
17. *Fer.*, I. 288.
18. *Fer.*, I. 282.
19. Maḥmūd, succeeded Muḥammad III on 5-2-887/27-3-1482 and reigned till 4-12-924/7-12-1518.
20. *Fer.*, I. 288.

which extends on three sides and presents interminable vistas on wide spanned arches. Adjoining the cloisters are seven avenues of painted arches of exquisite proportions all leading to the main hall measuring 45 ft. each way. The avenues are divided north to south into twelve aisles by insertions of masonry columns which, produce a labyrinthlike effect in the interior of the building. We may here point out that unlike the prevalent scheme of mosque architecture in India the whole building covering an area of 38016 sq. ft., is entirely covered and is without any outside court-yard whatsoever. It is a unique building and testifies to the taste of the Second Bahmani. There is no doubt that this innovation is due to the influx of foreign architects specially Turkish in whose homeland practically the whole area of a mosque is invariably covered.

In spite of these innovations the Tughluq tradition persisted in the famous Haft Gumbad or Seven Domes as the tombs of the remaining Gulbargā Sulṭāns are called; in the single domes, the bouquets on the top of four small minarets are built over the angles of the square roofs and even sloping walls which had disappeared in the earlier Great Mosque but which reappears in the Shah Bazar Mosque. The archways of these tombs remind one of the arch-way of the 'Alāī Darwāzā at Delhi built half a century earlier by 'Alau'd-dīn' Khiljī. It is noticeable how the purely Hindu hand appears for the first time in the prayer niche in the western wall of Ghiaṣu'd-dīn's tomb, an influence which freely recurs in the tomb of Fīrōz Shāh, in which the jambs on the doorways, the brackets, the chhajjas and the double rows of arches and the lotus leaves on the base of the dome remind one of the free play of the Hindu artisan and which becomes so prominent in the architecture of the successive states, especially Bijapur and Golconda. Moreover in Fīrōz's tomb the slope in the walls completely disappears.[22]

Muḥammad Shāh's successor, Mujāhid, was well-versed in Turkish and Persian languages as well as in the art of war, and excelled in archery and wrestling.[23] In his days the art of war was being revolutionized by the development of artillery, and Ṣafdar Khāṇ Sīstānī was

21. Yazdānī, The Great Mosque of Gulbarga, *Islamic Culture,* 1928.
22. Haft Gumbad, *Report of Hyderabad Arch. Dept.*, 1925-26, pp. 5-7; Shāh Bazaar Mosque, p. 3.
23. *Fer.*, I. 296.

appointed special officer in charge of the "fire water" and ordered to keep under his command special gun carriages in the campaign against Vijayanagar. Ferishtā says that the cannon and fire arms were used for the first time in the siege of Adoni, where Muqarrab Khāṇ commanded all "Levantines and the Frank" who were in direct charge of the artillery, and this is the first time when we are told of the presence of Europeans in India. We hear of thirty thousand gunners and musketeers taking part in the battle and two Bahmani commanders, 'Īsa Khāṇ and Mūsā Khāṇ were killed by musket shot.[24]

Mujāhid and Dāwūd were both murdered, and the latter was succeeded by the peace-loving Muḥammad Shah II who has been dubbed the pioneer of the Medieval culture of the Deccan.[25] His reign of nearly twenty years was marked by almost complete peace in the Deccan and even the Vijayanagar border was quiet. Muḥammad was well-versed in Persian and Arabic and was a good calligraphist and a poet of some eminence, some of his lines being quoted by Ferishtā. He married only once and was always happy to sit with the learned, some of whom he called from Persia and Arabia to the Deccan.[26] On his behalf Mir Faḍlullāh Injū, the great *savant* of his time, called Khwaja Ḥāfiz of Shīrāz and sent him a considerable amount as his travelling and other expenses. Muḥammad Shāh had sent a special boat to fetch him to India, but as luck would have it the sea began to heave when Hafiz was entering the boat and he was so overawed that he disembarked at once and composed the following tell-tale lines:

"Not all the sum of earthly happiness
Is worth the bowed head of a moment's pain,
And if I sell for wine my dervish dress
Worth more than what I sell is what I gain.
"Full easy seemed the sorrow of the sea
Lightened by hope of gain, hope flew too fast.
A hundred pearls were poor indemnity,
Not worth the blast."

24. *Fer.*, I. 290. "Firangiyān wa Rūmiyān".
25. Siddiqi, A.M.—*Muḥāmmad Shāh II, the Pioneer of Mediaeval Culture of the Deccan*, Ind. Hist. Cong. Hyderabad, 1941.
26. *Fer.*, I. 301, 302.

The king was so impressed by the whole episode that he sent 1,000 golden Tankas to the Khwājā as a recompense.[27]

Muḥammad used to wear costly dress when he was a Prince but when he ascended the throne he was content to wear a simple dress as he said that he was only a trustee appointed by God to serve his subjects. When a severe famine attacked the state he purchased grain in the markets of Malwa and Gujerat in return for 10,000 head of cattle and sold it cheaply in the bazars of the Deccan. He was the first Sultan of the Deccan to have appointed teachers for imparting education to the children in large towns such as Gulbargā, Bīdar, Qandhār, Junair, Chaul and Dābul and supplemented this by the grant of scholarships and emoluments to scholars to study sacred texts.[28]

With Muḥammad's death began the short interregnum which lasted seven months ending in the accession of Fīrōz on the throne. Both Fīrōz and his successors were pupils of Mir Faḍlullā Injū who was later appointed Ṣadr Jahāṇ, and the new king was well-versed in Qur'ānic studies, fiqh, natural and moral sciences, mathematics and geometry. Fīrōz himself lectured thrice a week to students on the standard texts of logic, rhetoric, the exegesis of the Qur'ān and Ṣūfic precepts. He was also a poet of some mark with 'Urūzī and Fīrōzī as his poetic names. Naturally such a Sulṭān would be a great patron of learning and sent ships "in all directions" every year not only for trading purposes but also to bring the learned and the best to the Deccan.[29] Thus was unconsciously laid the great problem of the "New comers" and the "Old-comers" which finally caused the disruption of the Sultanate itself. But naturally Fīrōz's intention was anything but to create an almost incurable wound, and what he wanted, as he said, was to get the most experienced from far and near for the service of the kingdom. He used to say that he was a king when actually on the throne, but was like an ordinary man otherwise, and he acted according to this novel yet correct idea in being absolutely free with learned men, poets and story-tellers part of the evening, with the solitary condition that no convers-

27. Translation by Miss G. Bell, *Poems of Ḥāfiz of Shīrāz*, quoted by Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, 1265-1502. Ḥāfiz died in 791/1389.

28. *Fer.*, I. 302.

29. *Fer.*, I. 306-308.

ation on politics would be allowed in these convivial meetings.[30] Although he led a number of campaigns against Vijayanagar he was perhaps inclined towards a truce with the Hindu state as is evidenced by his leaving Kẖēṛlā in Narsingh's possession and marrying in the family of the Raya of Vijayanagar, a marriage which was celebrated with great pomp in the capital of the Hindu Empire, and again by marrying his son Ḥasan Kẖāṉ to the famous beauty of the Deccan, Parthāl of Mudgal.

It was in the reign of the successor of Fīrōz, Shihabu'd-dīn Aḥmad I, that the capital was moved from Gulbargā to Bīdar and the Great Fort built which is still the glory of the Deccan, and the excavations of which have brought to light some of the most wonderful buildings the Deccan possesses. After passing through the Sharzā Darwāzā built by Aurangzīb nearly two hundred and fifty years later, we pass through another gateway and then the Gumbad Darwaza with its stilted arch which was the favourite of the Bahmanis. We wander through the vast enclosure with massive walls, the moat partly dug out of solid rock, to Rangīn Maḥal, built almost entirely in the traditional Hindu fashion, the Solha Khamb Masjid, the recently discovered inscription of which shows that it was built in 1424, the Dīwān-i 'Ām and the Dīwān-i Kẖās and finally the Taḵẖt Maḥal and the Baths with beautiful tile decorations and the Persian emblem of the Lion and the Rising Sun in bold glazed tiles on the top of the stilt.[31] It was this part of the Palace which the poet Āt̲h̲arī, author of the Bahman Nāmah, praised in his now famous lines:—

> "What a grandeur! What strength! that the very sky appears but the top of the foundation of the edifice;
>
> And even this comparison is improper, for we must remember that we have in our mind the palace of the king of the world, Aḥmad Bahman Sẖāh."[32]

The stilting of the arches of which the Bahmanī's were so fond, shows considerable Persian influence, but this is not unmixed with

30. *Fer.*, I. 306.

31. Reports of *Hyderabad Arch.* Dept., 1928-29, 1929-30, 1930-31, 1931-33, 1933-34, 1934-35.

32. Āt̲h̲arī, 784-1383—866/1462, author of Bahman Nāmah which exists no more as a separate work but which is utilised freely by *Fer.* See *Fer.*, I. 325, 326.

Hindu art which abounds in the fort in the carvings of marginal borders and many other appliances. Here it may be pointed out that the stilted Bahmani arch is seen to its advantage in many buildings in Vijayanagar, the greatest enemy of the Bahmanis which was, however, much taken by the architectural *motif* at Bidar—e.g., in the gateway on the Talarigattu road, the domed gateway on the east of Hampī, the watch-towers of the Zanana enclosures, the elephant stables, the watch-tower in the Danaik's enclosure and many other ruins of Hampi.[33]

We are now nearing the period which was enriched by the presence of Maḥmūd Gāwāṉ, the great Bahmanī Wazīr, and with him the culture of the Deccan reached its apex. Maḥmūd Gāwāṉ arrived at Bīdar in the reign of Aḥmad I's son 'Alau'd-dīn Aḥmad II at the ripe age of 42 and lives at Bīdar throughout the reigns of Humāyūṉ, unjustly surnamed the cruel, Nizamu'd-dīn Aḥmad III, and Muḥammad III. He was a great upholder of culture and his famous madrasah at Bīdar is the most prominent monument of the city visible for miles around and its tower is definitely the loftiest tower in the town. The madrasah was built in 1472 nine years before his martyrdom of its founder and is a permanent symbol of the public welfare which the Khwājā had at heart, while he himself was nowhere more at home than in its libraries and lecture halls. The verse of the Qur'ān:

> "Peace be on you that are good,
> So enter it for ever",

which still adorns the main gate, beckoned every one to come and partake of the intellectual food provided there. The building was damaged by an explosion during the reign of Aurangzīb in 1696 and more than a quarter of it was destroyed, but in spite of this damage it is still the glory of the Deccan and an example of the "beautiful Persian architecture in glazed tile developed under the later Mongols." It is said that the present most acceptable to the Khwājā was that of books which he invariably presented to the library of this great college.[34]

33. Illustrations in A. H. Longhurst, *Hampī Ruins,* Delhi, 1933.

34. The Madrasah at Bīdar, see *Maḥmūd Gawan,* op. cit., pp. 143-145. The quotation is from Goetz.: *Indo-Muslim Architecture in its Islamic setting,* Journal of the University of Bombay, January, 1940.

Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ was a writer of no mean merit, and the collection of his letters named the Riyādu'l-Inshā has the distinction of being the earliest existing Persian work compiled in the Deccan. The 145 letters included in the work are addressed to kings, queens princes, princesses, ministers, men of learning men of religion, men of literature and others and throw a powerful light on the man and his contemporaries. To many men of learning he extended his invitation to come to Bidar and lecture before the pupils of his foundation. Among such was the great philosopher and writer K͟hājā Jalalu'd-dīn Dawānī who dedicated his book the Shawakilu'l-Ḥūr, a commentary of Shaik͟h Shihabu'd-dīn Suhurwardi's Hayakilu'n-Nūr. We have eight letters addressed to Maulānā Nuru'd-din Jāmī "the acknowledged leader of the learned of the epoch," in which, among other things, the K͟hwājā invites the Maulānā to come to Bīdar.[35] On the other hand Jāmī reciprocates the honour done to him by a couple of odes, one in Persian and the other in Arabic in which he lavishes upon him unbounded praises and the highest honour, and in one of the odes with a wish that the "shadow of the K͟hwājā-i Jahāṇ might continue on his forehead." The K͟hwājā is likewise extolled by 'Abdu'r-Razzāq the ambassador of the Sulṭan of Hirāt to the court of Vijayanagar, who includes him among the world-famed *alumni* of Gilan, and by Sak͟hāwī who regards him as one of the luminaries of the 9th century.[36]

Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ was like the last and strong flicker of life before the death pangs of the Bahmani Kingdom which set in immediately after his murder on 5th April, 1481. With the virtual disappearance of the Bahmanī state and its disruption into five succession states the Bahmanī culture also came to an end, giving place to three chief composite cultures of Aḥmadnagar, Bījāpūr and Golconda.

35. See Sherwani, *Riyādu'l-Inshā as a source-book of Deccan History,* Indian Historical Records Commission, Baroda, 1941, p. 170. Shaikh Shihabu'd-din Suhrawardi was the ancestor of H. E. H. The Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar; See Yūsuf Ḥusain K͟hāṇ, *Niẓāmu'l Mulk Āṣaf Jāh* I, 1936.

36. See Proceedings of the Hyderabad Archaeological and Historical Society, 1st meeting, 10-8-1941.

The Letters of Horace Walpole

BY

K. P. KARUNAKARA MENON.

1. *Walpole as a Man.*

One of the most important uses of the study of letters is that they give us a fuller and truer idea of the personality of their writers than more formal and ambitious works can ever do. Many great English writers would have been completely misunderstood but for the truth that their correspondence reveals. Swift's writings, for example, produce the impression that he was a man-hating Timon who would wither the world with his wrath. But his *Journal to Stella* bears testimony to his capacity for intense affection and for jovial pleasantry. The author of *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* strikes us an emotionless man into whose soul the iron never entered, as one who could chronicle with equal equanimity how an empire fell and how a bubble burst. But his letters to Lord Sheffield prove that he was both human and humane. So too with Horace Walpole. He has been described as "the most eccentric, the most artificial, the most fastidious, the most capricious of men".[1] "His mind," continues the same critic, "was a bundle of inconsistent whims and affectations. His features were covered by mask within mask. When the outer disguise of obvious affectation was removed, you were still as far as ever from the real man." A careful study of Walpole's letters will show that though he was full of the most insane prejudices, he was capable of the most sincere affection. His animosities were warm, but no less warm were his attachments. He was a loving son, a steadfast friend and a large-hearted humanitarian.

Walpole was deeply devoted to both his parents, Sir Robert Walpole, the Prime Minister, and Lady Walpole (nee Catherine Shorter).

1. Macaulay, article to the *Edinburgh Review* on Lord Dover's Edition of Walpole's Letters to Sir Horace Mann.

Though his later biographers have repeated a scandal regarding his birth to the effect that he was not the son of Sir Robert, but of one of his mother's admirers, Lord Hervey (the elder brother of Pope's *Sporus*), there is no indication that the slightest suspicion of his parentage ever crossed the mind of Horace himself. He always spoke with the warmest love and admiration of his father whom Thackeray described as "that corrupter of parliaments, that dissolute tipsy cynic, that courageous lover of peace and liberty, that great citizen, patriot and statesman." Sir Robert was, to Horace, "the best of fathers," whose memory he "revered to the highest degree", "the mildest, most forgiving, best-natured of men",[2] "the wisest man I have seen" who "kept this country in peace for twenty years",[3] and who was "the glory of human nature".[4] He had the highest opinion of his father's statesmanship, and in 1780, when England was at war with America and her European allies, he sighed for the "twenty years of peace, and credit, and happiness and liberty" which the country enjoyed under his father: "I look about for a Sir Robert Walpole; but where is he to be found?" No less deep was his affection for his mother. "If I ever felt much for anything," he said,[5] "it was certainly for my mother."

The charge of insincerity and artificiality falls to the ground when we examine Walpole's relations with his numerous friends. A man who formed a multitude of attachments and who succeeded in maintaining many of them for decades cannot be condemned as incapable of warm affection. He once made the claim, "when I love anybody it is for my life", and how true this claim is, is seen from the fact that he could speak, towards the end of his life, of his constancy and sincerity to "friends of above forty years", of his pen being "worn to the stump" by a correspondence of "three and forty years together",[6] of his friendship with Montagu "of between thirty and forty years",[7] and of his intimacy "from eight years old" with George Selwyn "without a cloud between

2. Letter to Governor Pownall, October 27, 1783.
3. Letter to Sir Horace Mann, August 26, 1785.
4. Letter to the Earl of Oxford, October 5, 1778.
5. Letter to the Hon. H. S. Conway, July 20, 1744.
6. Letter to Sir Horace Mann, March 26, 1784.
7. Letter to the Rev. William Cole, May 11, 1780.

us".[8] No doubt, he quarrelled with several of his friends, for "he could protrude a feline set of claws from his velvet gloves",[9] but "in his friendships he was more eager to give than to receive."[10] With his cousin, Henry Conway, Walpole established a life-long intimacy. He "looked upon him as his nearest relation by his mother", "loved him better than anybody", and on two different occasions he generously offered to share his fortune with him".[11] On the latter occasion, which was when Conway was deprived of his offices as Groom of the Royal Bed Chamber and Colonel of a regiment for voting against the government, Walpole wrote:

'In the meantime, let me beg you, in the most earnest and most sincere of all professions, to suffer me to make your loss as slight as it is in my power to make it: I have six thousand pounds in the funds; accept all, or what part you want. Do not imagine I will be put off with a refusal........ You have ever been the dearest person to me in the world. You have shown that you deserve to be so. You suffer for your spotless integrity. Can I hesitate a moment to show that there is at least one man who knows how to value you? The new will, which I am going to make, will be a testimonial of my own sense of virtue'.

Conway's reference to this offer in a letter that he wrote to the Earl of Hertford should set at rest all doubt as to Walpole's sincerity and generosity.

'Horace Walpole has, on this occasion, shown that warmth of friendship that you know him capable of, so strongly that I want words to express my sense of it'.

The best known of Walpole's friends was Gray with whom he quarrelled on their continental tour. Before they set out Walpole made a will, without his friend's knowledge, under which if he died abroad Gray was to be his sole legatee.[12] It is easy to explain the estrangement. As Walpole himself said, though "his (Gray's) writings are

8. Letter to the Countess of Ossory, January 28, 1791.
9. Leslie Stephen, *Hours in a Library*, II Series.
10. Robert Lynd.
11. See letters to Conway of July 20, 1744 and April 21, 1764.
12. See Walpole's letter to Mason, March 2, 1773.

admirable, he himself is not agreeable." Nor can we complain against Walpole's estimate of Gray as a man:

'He is the worst company in the world. From a melancholy turn, from living reclusely, and from a little too much dignity, he never converses easily; all his words are measured and chosen and formed into sentences'.

Nevertheless Walpole later magnanimously took the whole blame upon himself for the quarrel:

'I am conscious, that in the beginning of the differences between Gray and me, the fault was mine. I was too young, too fond of my own diversions, nay, I do not doubt, too much intoxicated by indulgence, vanity, and the insolence of my situation, as a Prime Minister's son, not to have been inattentive and insensible to the feelings of one I thought below me; of one, I blush to say it, that I knew was obliged to me; of one whom presumption and folly perhaps made me deem not my superior *then* in parts, though I have since felt my infinite inferiority to him. I treated him insolently; he loved me, and I did not think he did. I reproached him with the difference between us, when he acted from conviction of knowing he was my superior.... Forgive me, if I say that his temper was not conciliating; at the same time that I will confess to you that he acted a more friendly part, had I had the sense to take advantage of it—he freely told me of my faults. I declared I did not desire to hear them, nor would correct them. You will not wonder that with the dignity of his spirit and the obstinate carelessness of mine, the breach must have grown wider, till we became incompatible'.[13]

Walepole was also very generous to Gray in the enthusiastic but discriminating praise that he bestowed on his poems.

The most voluminous of his correspondence and that which extended over the longest period was with Sir Horace Mann who was appointed English ambassador to the court of Florence by Sir Robert

13. Letter to the Rev. Mr. Mason, March 2, 1773.

Walpole. The Prime Minister's son met him in 1740 at Florence, and from then commenced what he described in 1784 as "a correspondence of near half a century .... not to be paralleled in the annals of the Post Office!"[14] They had long "out-friendshipped Orestes and Pylades".[15] Sir Horace was an exile from London for over fifty years; and during this period his friend in England gave him a minute account of home politics. These letters are, therefore, among the most valuable historical documents of the age. Another dear friend was John Chute, and the intensity of Walpole's affection for him is seen from the poignant grief that he felt on the occasion of his death:

'Mr. Chute and I agreed invariably in our principles; he was my counsel in my affairs, was my oracle in taste, the standard to whom I submitted my trifles, and the genius that presided over poor Strawberry! His sense decided me in everything; his wit and quickness illuminated everything. I saw him oftener than any man; to him in every difficulty I had recourse, and him I loved to have here, as our friendship was so entire, and we knew one another so entirely, that he alone never was the least constraint to me. We passed many hours together without saying a syllable to each other; for we were both above ceremony. I left him without excusing myself, read or wrote before him, as if he were not present. Alas! alas! and how *self* presides even in our grief! I am lamenting myself, not him!—no, I am lamenting my other self. Half is gone; the other remains solitary'.[16]

The friends of Horace Walpole are too numerous for enumeration. But mention must be made of a few women correspondents, letters to whom are among the most vivacious that he wrote. The most important of them was, undoubtedly, Madame du Deffand who in her youth, was the mistress of the Duke of Orleans. Walpole first met her at Paris in 1765 when she was nearly seventy, and completely blind. Walpole's first impression of her was unfavourable, he described her as "an old débauchée of wit."[17] But it did not take long before each was

14. Letter to Sir Horce Mann, August 25, 1784.
15. Letter to Sir Horace Mann, December, 1785.
16. Letter to Sir Horace Mann, May 27, 1776.
17. Letter to H. S. Conway, October 6, 1765.

fascinated by the other, and an intimate friendship was established between them. He visited her in alternate years till 1771, and finally in 1775, and they wrote to each other at least once a week. She "is my best and sincerest of friends, who loves me as much as my mother did!"[18] Her versatility and her vitality amazed him:

'She makes songs, sings them, remembers all that ever were made; and, having lived from the most agreeable to the most reasoning age, has all that was amiable in the last, all that is sensible in this, without the vanity of the former, or the pedant impertinence of the latter. I have heard her dispute with all sorts of people, on all sorts of subjects, and never knew her in the wrong. She humbles the learned, sets right their disciples, and finds conversation for everybody. Affectionate as Madame de Sévigné, she has none of her prejudices, but a more universal taste; and with the most delicate frame, her spirits hurry her through a life of fatigue that would kill me, if I was to continue here. If we return by one in the morning from suppers in the country she proposes driving to the Boulevard or to the Foire St. Ovide, because it is too early to go to bed. I had great difficulty last night to persuade her, though she was not well, not to sit up till between two or three for the comet; for which purpose she had appointed an astronomer to bring his telescopes to the (president Henault's,) as she thought it would amuse me. In short, her goodness to me is so excessive, that I feel unashamed at producing my withered person in a round of diversions, which I have quitted at home'.[19]

While at Paris, he could never get to bed before two or three o'clock, and he complained, "I need have the activity of a squirrel, and the strength of a Hercules, to go through my labours."[20] Her attachment to him rapidly developed into a kind of infatuation. She wanted to leave all her money to Walpole, but the latter threatened never to set foot in Paris again if she did so, and she was persuaded to retract on condition that he consented to accept all her MSS.[21]

18. Letter to George Montagu, September 7, 1769.
19. Letter to George Montagu, Paris, September 7, 1769.
20. Letter to the Hon. H. S. Conway, Paris, September 8, 1775.
21. Letter to the Countess Ossory, November 1, 1780.

No less dear to him than Madame du Deffand were Mary and Agnes Berry, the daughters of a man who was disinherited by his grand uncle for marrying only for love. Walpole made the acquaintance of these accomplished and attractive young women in 1787 when he was seventy and they were below twenty five. He was enchanted by their "pleasing figures," their dress, which though "fashionable" was "within the bounds of fashion" (for it was "without the excrescences and balconies with which modern hoydens overwhelm and barricade their persons)", and above all, by their "good sense, information, simplicity and ease".[22] Both of them were "pearls," but particularly Mary, who was "an angel both inside and out."[23] Her face "is formed for a sentimental novel, but is ten times fitter for a fifty times better thing, genteel comedy".[24] He confessed to his being "in love with you both"[25] and he called them his "darling children,"[26] his "twin wives," his "dear both," his "Amours," "his two Straw Berries." Malicious tongues began to wag, but Walpole laughed at the idle rumours:

'I am proud of my partiality for them; and since the ridicule can only fall on me, and not on them, I care not a straw for its being said that I am in love with one of them—people shall choose which: it is as much with both as with either, and I am infinitely too old to regard the *qu'en dit on*'.[27]

The friendship was advantageous to both sides. The last years of Walpole were soothed and sweetened by this charming attachment, while the Miss Berrys had the advantage of securing an introduction to the best society of the day. He persuded them to reside near his castle of Strawberry Hill, at Cliveden (so called because it was formerly the abode of the actress, Mrs. Kitty Clive) which he purchased, christened "Little Strawberry", and bequeathed to the sisters. He also left each of them a legacy of £4,000.

22. Letter to the Countess Ossory, October 11, 1788.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*
25. Letter to the Miss Berrys, February 2, 1789.
26. Letter to the Miss Berrys, October 10, 1790.
27. Letter to the Countess of Ossory, May 29, 1791.

Among other women friends of Walpole we might mention the Countess of Ossory to whom he wrote some of his sprightliest letters,[28] the pious Hannah More (who was charmed by the "entertaining powers of the pleasant Horace" though he himself said that he was only fit to be a milkwoman as the *chalk-stones* at his fingers' ends qualified him for nothing but *scoring*), the actress Kitty Clive, and Lady Hervey who once sent Walpole some potted pilchards which he admired, and who received this letter in reply:

'I won't thank you, and I won't be obliged. It is very hard one can't come into your house and commend anything but you must recollect it and send it after one! I will never dine in your house again; and when I do, I will like nothing; and when I do I will commend nothing; and when I do, you shan't remember it'.[29]

No less admirable than the sincerity and warmth of his friendships are his charitable nature, his love of children and his kindliness towards servants. Among his charities (some of them anonymous) were his subscriptions towards the relief of French prisoners,[30] of the ailing inmates of Southwark jail,[31] and of "starving and friendless children".[32] Once he offered hospitable asylum to a poor sick girl in his castle of Strawberry Hill, humorously remarking, "you know how courteous a knight I am to distressed virgins of five years old, and that my castle gates are always open to them".[33] That he was an indulgent master is seen from the reluctance he felt in dismissing an intolerably inefficient gardener:

'I have a gardener that has lived with me above five-and-tweny years; he is incredibly ignorant, and a mule.... I cannot bear to turn him adrift, nor will starve an old servant, though never a good one, to please my nose and mouth.... I will take the liberty of letting you

28. His letter to her dated February 10, 1786, contains the story of the Monkey and the Parrot, one of his best anecdotes.
29. Letter to Lady Hervey, November 10, 1764.
30. Letter to Grosvenor Bedford, September 24, 1762.
31. Letter to Grosvenor Bedford, February 29, 1764.
32. Letter to Miss Hannah More, February 20, 1790.
33. Letter to the Hon. H. S. Conway, July 6, 1754.

know, if I can persuade the Serpent that has reduced my little Eden to be as nasty and barren as the Highlands, to take a pension and a yellow ribbon'.[34]

Equally attractive is Walpole's love for animals. He protested against the cruel campaign in England in 1760 against dogs:

'The streets are a very picture of the murder of the innocents—one drives over nothing but poor dead dogs! The dear, good-natured, honest, sensible creatures! Christ! how can anybody hurt them? Nobody could but those Cherokees the English, who desire no better than to be halloo'd to blood:—one day Admiral Byng, the next Lord George Sackville, and today the poor dogs'.[35]

When a flood suddenly overran the lawn of his castle and entered the building itself he hastened "to collect two dogs, a couple of sheep, a pair of bantams, and a brace of gold fish, for in the haste of my zeal to imitate my ancestor Noah, I forgot that fish could not easily be drowned".[36] He was moved to pity for "a disconsolate wood-pigeon.. that was made a widow by the barbarity of a gun":

'She coos and calls me so movingly, 'twould touch your heart to hear her. I protest to you it grieves me to pity her. She is so allicholly as anything. I'll warrant you now she's as sorry as any one of us would be. Well, good man, he's gone, and died like a lamb. She's an unfortunate woman, but she must have patience'.[37]

He found comfort in "two marble kittens" (given to him by Mrs. Damer) with whom he talked,[38] and it was his habit after breakfast to go to the window with a basin of bread and milk to throw to the squirrels in the garden. He could not bear the sight of a truncated fawn which his house-wife brought to him, and he sent her away saying that he would as soon eat a child as the poor animal.[39]

From early boyhood Walpole was fond of domestic pets, and all through life he showed the same interest in preserving them. The

34. Letter to the Earl of Harcourt, October 18, 1777.
35. Letter to the Earl of Strafford, September 4, 1760.
36. Letter to Richard Bentley, June 11, 1755.
37. Letter to George Montagu, May 30, 1736.
38. Letter to the Countess of Ossory, February 26, 1789.
39. Letter to the Countess of Ossory, July 18, 1780.

earliest extant letter of his, written at the age of eight, shows that he was incapable of forgetting not only a parent or a friend but a pet:

'Dear mama, I hop you are wall, and I am very wall, and I hop papa is wal, and I begin to slaap, and I hop al wall and my cosens like there pla things very wall

and I hop Dolly Phillips is wall and pray give my Duty to papa

Horace Walpole

and I am very glad to hear by Tom that all my crautuars are all wall and Mrs. Selwyn has sprand her Fot and gvis her Sarves to you and I dind ther yester Day'.

Among his domestic pets was Tory, a black spaniel of King Charles's breed, which was carried away by a wolf on the top of the Alps before anyone could go to his rescue.[40] The defunct Tory was succeeded by Patapan whom Walpole bought at Rome. In 1742 "Sa Majesté Patapanique", as Walpole humorously called him, had a dreadful misfortune:

'Quarrelling with a great pointer last night about their countesses he received a terrible shake by the back and a bruise on the left eye—poor dear Pat! you never saw such universal consternation'.[41]

Patapan's portrait was painted by John Wotton in 1743,[42] and was hung in Walpole's bed-room at Strawberry Hill.[43] Patapan died in 1765 and was succeeded by a tanned black spaniel called, Rosette. She once saved her master's life at night by drawing his attention by her persistent barking to the chimney which was in flames.[44] While she lay dying in 1773 he could get no sleep, and he "sat up with her till three in the morning."[45]

The most pugnacious of his dogs was Tonton. This snappish little dog was presented in 1778, along with his portrait in wax on a gold

40. Letter to Richard West, November 11, 1739.
41. Letter to Sir Horace Mann, October 9, 1742.
42. Letter to Sir Horace Mann, April 25, 1743.
43. Patapan's Portrait was sold at the Strawberry Hill sale for £4.
44. Letter to Sir Horace Mann, March 23, 1770.
45. Letter to the Countess of Ossory, August 9, 1773.

snuff-box, to Madame du Deffand by the Maréchale de Luxembourg. Tonton "grows the greater favourite" with his old mistress "the more people he devours":

't other night he flew at Lady Barrymore's face, and I thought would have torn her eye out; but it ended in biting her finger. She was terrified; she fell into tears. Madame du Deffand, who has too much parts not to see everything in its true light, perceiving that she had not beaten Tonton half enough, immediately told us a story of a lady, whose dog, having bitten a piece out of a gentleman's leg, the tender dame in a great right, cried, out, "Won't it make my dog sick" '.[46]

On the old lady's death the dog and the snuff-box passed to Walpole. "The dog is so cross", wrote Walopole to the Countess of Ossory on November 1, 1780, "that I am sure nobody else would treat it well." Tonton arrived at Strawberry Hill on May 6, 1781:

'I brought him this morning to take possession of his new villa, but his inauguration has not been at all pacific. As he has already found out that he may be as despotic as at Saint Joseph's, he began with exiling my beautiful little cat; upon which, however, we shall not quite agree. He then flew at one of my dogs, who returned it by biting his foot till it bled, but was severely beaten for it. I immediately rung for Margaret[47] to dress his foot; but in the midst of my tribulation could not keep my countenance; for she cried, "Poor little thing, he does not understand my language!" I hope she will not recollect, too, that he is a Papist'.[48]

Tonton grew very old, "stone deaf and very nearly equally blind," and he died in 1789 at Berkeley Square. Walpole sent his corpse to Strawberry Hill, and he himself went there to see him buried "behind the chapel, near Rosette".[49] The death of Tonton was keenly felt by his master who decided on not having another dog, for he was himself too old.[50]

46. Letter to the Hon. H. S. Conway, September 8, 1775.
47. Walpole's housekeeper at Strawberry Hill.
48. Letter to the Hon. H. S Conway, May 6, 1781.
49. Letter to the Countess of Ossory, February 26, 1789.
50. *Ibid.*

In spite of his capacity for friendship and his humanity he was a man of the most implacable prejudices. "A boundless friend, a bitter enemy," is Walpole's description of himself. Of his contempt for contemporary literary men something will be said hereafter. One of his pet aversions was Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. He called her "Moll Worthless".[51] She arrived at Florence while Walpole was there:

'She .. is laughed at by the whole town. Her dress, her avarice, and her impudence must amaze any one that ever heard her name. She wears a foul mob, that does not cover her greasy black locks, that hang loose, never combed or curled; an old mazarine blue wrapper, that gapes open and discovers a canvass petticoat. Her face swelled violently on one side with the remains of a—, partly covered with a plaister, and partly with white paint, which for cheapness she had bought so coarse, that you would not use it to wash a chimney. In three words I will give you her picture as we drew it in the *Sortes Virgiliance*—

Insanam vatem aspicies'.[52]

Equally scathing is his portrait of her in old age:

'I found her in a little miserable bed chamber of a ready-furnished house, with two tallow candles, and a bureau covered with pots and pans. On her head, in full of all accounts, she had an old black-laced hood, wrapped entirely round, so as to conceal all hair or want of hair. No handkerchief, but up to her chin a kind of horseman's riding-coat, calling itself a *pet-en-l' air*, made of a dark green (green I think it had been) brocade, with coloured and silver flowers, and lined with furs; boddice laced, a foul dimity petticoat sprig'd, velvet muffeteens on her arms, grey stockings and slippers.

Her face less changed in twenty years than I could have imagined; I told her so, and she was not so tolerable twenty years ago that she needed have taken it for flattery, but she did, and literally gave me a box on the ear. She is very lively, all her senses perfect, her languages as imperfect as ever, her avarice greater'.[53]

51. Letter to Richard West, October 2, 1740.
52. Letter to the Hon. H. S. Conway, September 25, 1740.
53. Letter to Sir Horace Mann, January 29, 1762.

Another *Béte Noire* of his was the Duke of Newcastle. Walpole's attitude towards politicians was decided very often by their attitude towards his father. He could, at times, forgive his own enemies, but he could never forgive his father's enemies. He, therefore, let go no opportunity of caricaturing the Duke of Newcastle who was Sir Robert's political opponent. The Duke (whom Dorothy Margaret Stuart calls a "preposterous mountebank"[54]) was described by Walpole as a mean and treacherous animal whose teeth were "tumbling out," and whose mouth was "tumbling in." At a review of hte army the Duke).

'hurried about with his glass up to his eye, crying "Finest troops! Finest troops! greatest General", then broke through the ranks when he spied any Sussex man, kissed him in all his accoutrements.... then back to the Duke with "Finest troops! greatest General!"—and in short was a much better show than any review'.[55]

Equally diverting is Walpole's account of the Duke's first visit to the Court:

On Friday this august remnant of the Perhams went to Court for the first time. At the foot of the stairs he cried and sunk down: the yeomen of the guard were forced to drag him up under the arms. When the closet-door opened, he flung himself at his length at the King's feet, sobbed, and cried, "God bless your Majesty! God preserve your Majesty!" and lay there howling and embracing the King's knees, with one foot so extended, that my Lord Coventry, who was *luckily* in waiting, and begged the standers-by to retire, with —"For God's sake, gentlemen, don't look at a great man in distress," endeavouring to shut the door, caught his grace's foot, and made him roar out with pain.'[56]

Again, here is an account of the "burlesque Duke's" behaviour at a ball at Bedford-house:

'The delightful part of the night was the appearance of the Duke of Newcastle.... he went into the hazard-room, and wriggled, and shuffled, and lisped, and winked, and spied, till he got behind the Duke of Cum-

54. *Horace Walpole* (E.M.L.)
55. Letter to Sir Horace Mann, July 14, 1748.
56. Letter to Richard Bentley, March 17, 1754.

berland, the Duke of Bedford, and Rigby; the first of whom did not deign to notice him; but he must come to it. You would have died to see Newcastle's pitiful and distressed figure,—nobody went near him: he tried to flatter people that were too busy to mind him; in short, he was quite disconcerted; his treachery used to be so sheathed in folly, that he was never out of countenance, but it is plain he grows old. To finish his confusion and anxiety, George Selwyn, Brand, and I, went and stood near him, and in half whispers, that he might hear, said, "Lord, how he is broke! how old he looks!" then I said, "This room looks very cold: I believe there never is a fire in it." Presently afterwards I said, "Well, I'll not stay here; this room has been washed today." In short, I believe we made him take a double dose of Gascoign's powder when he went home.'[57]

Equally merciless is Walpole's pillorying of the man "whose name is perfidy" (as Robert Walpole characterised the Duke of Newcastle) in his description of the burial of George II.

'He fell into a fit of crying the moment he came into the chapel, and flung himself back in a stall, the Archbishop hovering over him with a smelling bottle; but in two minutes his curiosity got the better of his hypocrisy, and he ran about the chapel with his glass to spy who was or was not there, spying with one hand, and mopping his eyes with the other. Then returned the fear of catching cold; and the Duke of Cumberland, who was sinking with heat, felt himself weighed down, and turning round, found it was the Duke of Newcastle standing upon his train to avoid the chill of the marble.'[58]

No wonder Macaulay described the Duke as "a living, moving, talking caricature."[59] Never did man carry personal abhorrence to such an extreme as Walpole did towards the Duke of Newcastle. "There never was a more loyal son than Horace Walpole. He offered up a prime minister daily as a sacrifice at Sir Robert's tomb."[60]

To be continued.

57. Letter to George Montagu, April 26, 1759.
58. Letter to George Montagu, November 13, 1760.
59. Article to the *Edinburgh Review* on Lord Dover's Edition of Walpole's Letters to Sir Horace Mann.
60. Robert Lynd.

தமிழர் அரசியல்

(புறநானூறு)

By

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ஆன்றோர்கள் நம் அருமைத் தமிழ் மொழியை, "ஆயுந் தொறுந்தொறு மின்பந் தருந்தமிழ்" என்று போற்றினர். அவ்விதம் நாம் ஆராய்வதற்கும், அம்மொழி தழைத்தோங்கி மேல் செழித்து வளர்வதற்கும் அடிப்படையாகவுள்ள மூல இலக்கியம் சங்க இலக்கியமேயாகும். அச் சங்க இலக்கியத்தின் ஒரு பகுதியாய் விளங்குவது எட்டுத்தொகை. எட்டுத் தொகை நூல்கள் சொட்டச் சொட்டச் சுவை பெருக்கும் என்பர். எட்டுத் தொகை நூல்களுள் தலைசிறந்திலங்குவது புறநானூறு என்னும் தொகை நூல். இந்நூல் இற்றைக்குச் சற்றேறத்தாழ இரண்டாயிரம் ஆண்டுகளுக்கு முன் நமது முன்னோர்கள் தமிழ் நாட்டில் நடத்தி வந்த தினசரி வாழ்க்கையைத் தெளிவாகவும் விரிவாகவும், பசுமரத்தாணிபோல், நம் உள்ளத்திற் பதியும் வண்ணம் சித்திரித்துக் காட்டுகின்றது. அக்காலத்தில் அவர்களுக்கு நேர்ந்த இன்பங்கள் பல, துன்பங்களும் பல. அவ் வின்பங்களில் எவ்வாறு இலங்கினார்கள்? துன்பங்களில் எவ்வாறு துளங்கினார்கள்? அம் முதல் நூற்றாண்டு மூதாதையர்க்கும் இருபதாம் நூற்றாண்டினராகிய நமக்கும் உள்ள ஒற்றுமை வேற்றுமைகள் யாவை? இப் பழங் கதைகளால் நாம் எய்தும் பயன் ஏதேனும் உண்டா? என்ற பல கேள்விகளுக்கும், நேரான வகையில் ஐயந்திரிபின்றி புறநானூறே விடையிறுக்க வல்லது.

இரண்டாயிரம் ஆண்டுகளுக்குமுன் உலக சரித்திரம் எவ்வாறு இருந்தது என்பதை நாம் உற்று நோக்குவோமானால், அப்பொழுது அமெரிக்காக் கண்டம் கண்டு பிடிக்கப்படவில்லை. அதனால் உலகத்திற் பாதி இருளால் மூடப்பட்டிருந்தது. அங்கு செந்நிறமும் பரட்டைத் தலையுங்கொண்ட ஒரு வகைக் காட்டு மிராண்டிகள் வனாந்தரங்களில் விலங்குகள் போல் வாழ்ந்து வந்தனர். இப்பொழுதும் சிற்சில விடங்களில் அவ்வாறே வாழ்ந்து வருகின்றனராம். ரோம தேசத்து முடிசூடாமன்னனான ஜூலியஸ் ஸீஸர் (Julius Caesar) என்பவன் ஆங்கில நாட்டைப் படையெடுத்துச் சென்று பார்த்தான். அங்கு, கெல்ட்ஸ் (Kelts) என்னும் ஒருவகை அநாகரிகர் குகைகளில் வாழ்ந்து வந்தனர். அவர்கள் கல்வி

ஞலே ஆயுதங்கள் செய்து பிழைத்தவர்கள். இவர்களைத் திருத்துவது என்றும் இயலாத காரியம் என்று மனமுடைந்து ஸீஸர் ரோமுக்குத் திரும்பி விட்டான். வட ஐரோப்பா முற்றிலும் காடு முரடான மனிதர்கள் சஞ்சரித்து வந்த காடாகவே யிருந்தது. கிரீஸ் நாட்டிலும் ரோம நாட்டிலும், பின்னும் நம் இந்திய தேசத்திற்கு இடைப்பட்ட சில நாடுகளிலுமே சிறிதளவு நாகரிகம் தோன்றி, மனிதர்கள் விலங்கினின்றும் பிரித்தெண்ணும் திறம் வாய்ந்து வாழ்ந்து வந்தனர். ஆனால் அக்காலத் தமிழரின் தன்மை என்ன? அரசியலின் ஆற்றல் என்ன? போர்முறையின் போக்கென்ன? மங்கையரின் மனப்பான்மை யாது? என்றிவைபோன்ற கேள்விகளுக்குப் புறநானூறு கூறும் விடைகள் யாவை என்று சற்று ஆராய்வாம்.

புறநானூற்றுப் பாக்கள் ஒவ்வொன்றிலும் பழந் தமிழின் இள நலம் பொங்கிப் பொலிகின்றது. உணர்ச்சி ததும்பும் பாக்கள் நம் உள்ளத்தை உருக்குகின்றன. தொன்மைப் புலவர்கள் தொடை, எதுகை, மோனைகளைக் கவனியாது, உள்ளத் துணர்ச்சிகளைக் கள்ளங் கபடமின்றி உள்ளது உள்ளவாறே உருப்பெற்றெழுளிரும் வண்ணம் பாக்களை யாத்தனர். அவைகள், கைபுனைந்தியற்றாக் கவின்பெறு வனப்பெய்தி, அரிய கருத்துக்களை யகத்தடக்கி, கற்போர்க்குக் கழிபேருவகையை ஊட்டுகின்றன. சிலர் அவற்றை வழக்கொழிந்த தமிழென்றும், இருப்புக் கடலையென்றும் எள்ளி நகையாடுவர். இதற்குக் காரணம் ஒன்றுண்டு. அநேகருக்கு எழுதத்தெரியும், பேசவும் தெரியும், ஆனால் படிக்கத் தெரியாதென்றே சொல்லிவிடலாம். ஒரு கவியைப் படித்தால், அதைப் பாடிய புலவனது உள்ளத்திற் கிளர்ந்தெழும் உணர்ச்சிகள் எவை? அவன் கருத்து என்ன? அவன் குறிப்பது யாது? அவன் எடுத்தாளும் வார்த்தைகளின் உண்மைப் பொருள் யாது? என்றிவை யெல்லாம் நன்கு தெரிந்துகொண்டாலே, அக் கவியை நாம் நன்கு தெரிந்து படித்தவர்களாவோம். புறநானூற்றில் இருநூற்று அறுபத்தாறு பாடல்களுக்கு ஒரு சிறந்த பழையவுரை இருக்கிறது. அவ்வுரையாசிரியர் பெயர் தெரியவில்லை. ஒவ்வொரு பாட்டிலுமுள்ள அழகுகளை யெல்லாம் நாம் நன்கு உணரும் விதத்தில் விளக்கமாய் எழுதியிருக்கிறார். அவரது உரை நயத்தையும் புலவர்களது கவிநயத்தையும் நாம் தெரிந்து கொள்வதற்கு, ஒரு சிறு பாட்டைக் கவனிப்போம்.

பாரி என்னும் ஒரு சிற்றரசன் ஒரு சிறு மலையின்மீது தலைநகர் அமைத்து ஆண்டு வந்தான். அம் மலையைப் பாரியின் பறம்பு என்று வழங்குவர். பாரி ஒரு சிறந்த கொடையாளி; வரையாது ஈயும் வள்ளன்மைக்கு எடுத்துக்காட்டாக வுள்ளவன். அவன்மீது பொறாமை கொண்ட சில மன்னர் கூடி அவனை வஞ்சனையால் வென்று கொன்றுவிட்டனர். அவனோடு நெடுங்காலம் நட்புப் பூண்டு அவன் நலத்தை நுகர்ந்துவந்த கபிலர் என்னும் பெரும் புலவர் பாரியின் மகளிர் இருவரையும் அழைத்துக்கொண்டு அம் மலையை விட்டு நீங்கினார். அப்பொழுது ஆற்றொணாத் துயரம் அவர் ஆவி

யைப் பிடித்தீர்த்தது. கீழே நின்று அம்மலையைப் பார்த்துச் சில வார்த்தைகளைச் சொன்னார். "இந்த மலை இங்கு நின்று பார்ப்பவர்களுக்கும் தெரியும், இன்னும் சிறிது தூரம் தள்ளிச் சென்று பார்ப்பவர்களுக்கும் தோன்றும்" என்னும் பொருள்பட அவர் பாடிய பாடல்:—

"ஈண்டுநின் றோர்க்குந் தோன்றுஞ் சிறுவரை
சென்றுநின் றோர்க்குந் தோன்றும் மன்ற
களிறுமென் றிட்ட கவளம் போல
நறவுப்பிழிந் திட்ட கோதுடைச் சிதறல்
வாரசும் பொழுகு முன்றிற்
றேர்வீ சிருக்கை நெடியோன் குன்றே."

(புறநானூறு—114)

இதைப் படித்ததும் நாம் பெரிதும் ஏமாற்றம் அடைகின்றோம். இவருக்குப் பாடத் தெரியாதா? உள்ளத்தில் உணர்ச்சியே கிடையாதா? தம் துயரத்தை ஒன்றும் தெரிவித்தாரில்லையே! பாரி பிரிந்ததைப் பகர்ந்தாரில்லையே! ஒரு மலையைச் சற்று தூரத்தில் நின்று பார்த்தால் தெரியும் என்ற உண்மையை விளக்க ஒரு கபிலர் வேண்டுமா? அதற்கு ஒரு கவியும் வேண்டுமா? இப்படித்தான் பழம் பாடல்கள் எல்லாம் இருக்குமா? என்றெல்லாம் சிலர் உள்ளம் உளையக்கூடும். உரையில் என்ன சொல்கின்றார் என்று பார்ப்போம். "நெடியோன் குன்று தோன்று மென்றது, புகழான் உயர்ந்து காணுதார்க்கும் செவிப்புலனாகத் தோன்றும், அவன் உளனாயகாலத்து; இப்பொழுது பிறமலைபோலக் கட்புலனாகத் தோன்றும் அளவாயிற்றெனக் கையற்றுக் கூறியவாறாகக் கொள்க." என்பது விசேடவுரை. இதைப் படித்ததும் நமக்குக் கண்ணைத் திறந்து விட்டதுபோலிருக்கிறது. இப் பாட்டின் உண்மை யுணர்ச்சி வெளியாகி நம் உள்ளத்தைக் கவரச் செய்கிறது. பாரி உயிரோடிருந்தபோது அவன் வாழ்ந்த மலையினின்றும் விரிந்த புகழானது எங்கும் பரந்திருந்ததால் அம் மலையைக் காணுதோரும் பாரியின் புகழைக் கேட்டு அம் மலையையும் தெரிந்து கொண்டிருந்தார்கள். மற்ற மலைகளுக்குக் கண்ணாற் காணப்படுவதன்றி, புகழின்மையால், சேய்மையிலுள்ளோர்க்கும் புகழானே தோன்றிக்கொண்டிருக்க முடியவில்லை. அம் மலைகளின் நிலைமைக்குப் பாரிமலையும் அவன் இறந்தபின், இறங்கிவிட்டது என்று இரங்கி வருந்துகிறார் கபிலர். ஒருமுறைக்குப் பன்முறையும் பாட்டைப் படிக்கின்றோம். இனிது சுவைக்கின்றோம். இப் பாட்டிலுள்ள பாவங்கள் எல்லாம் இனிது உருவெடுத்து இன்பக்களியூட்டுகின்றன. பாரியின் பாரடங்காப்பல் புகழும், அவன் காலத்தில் அம் மலைக்கிருந்த பெருமையும், அவனழிந்தபின் அம்மலைக்கு நேர்ந்த சிறுமையும், எல்லாம் சொல்லாமலே நமக்கு விளங்கிவிடுகின்றன. சில சொற்களிற் பல பாவங்களும் பம்பி எழும்படிப் பாடிய புலவரின் திறந்தான் என்னே! பண்டைப் பனுவல்கள் பலவும் இவ்வண்ணம் குறிப்பிற் பொருள்தரும் பெருமை பொலிந்திலங்கியே நிற்கும். ஆனால் அப்பாக்களைக் களங்கமறத் தெரிந்து கொள்வ

தற்குச் சிறிது உழைப்பு எடுத்துக்கொள்ள வேண்டியிருக்கும். அதற்கு மனம் குன்றியவர்களாயிருந்தால் அப்பாக்கள் இருப்புக் கடலைதான். ஆதன் கைப்பொருளாகவே முடியும். அதற்காகப் பாக்களைக் குறைசொல்லிப் பயனென்ன? இதனால் புறநானூற்றுரை யாசிரியரின் உய்த்துணர்ந்து கருத்துக்களை வெளிப்படுக்குந்திறன் நன்கு விளங்கும். அவ்வுரை யில்லா விடில் இப்பாட்டைப் பலரும் படித்து இன்புற முடியா தென்றே சொல்லலாம்.

இன்னும் ஒரு தனிச்சிறப்பு புறநானூற்றிற்கு உண்டு. அக்காலத்திருந்த புவியரசர் பலரும் கவியரசராயும் விளங்கினார்கள். அவர்கள் பாடிய பாட்டுக்கள் பல புறநானூற்றிற் காணக்கிடைக்கின்றன. அப்பாக்களில் அக்கால வரசர்களின் குறிக்கோள்கள் பலவும் பொறித் தெழுதப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. பூதப்பாண்டியன், நெடுஞ்செழியன், இளம்பெருவழுதி, நலங்கிள்ளி, கோப்பெருஞ்சோழன், இளந்திரையன், பாலைபாடிய பெருங்கடுங்கோ, சேரமான் கணைக்காலிரும்பொறை, முதலிய மன்னர்கள் பாடியிருக்கும் பாக்கள் எல்லாம் நமக்குக் கிடைத்தற்கரிய மணிக்குவைகள் ஆகும். அப்பாக்களின் பெருமையை விரிப்பிற் பெருகும், தொகுப்பின் எஞ்சும். தமிழ் மன்னரின் வீரமும் ஈரமுமே புறநானூற்றின் சாரம் என்று சொல்லலாம்.

நமக்குக் கிடைத்திருக்கும் சான்றுகளின் மூலம் ஆராயுங்கால், தமிழ் நாட்டில் தொன்றுதொட்டு முடியரசே தழைத்து வந்தது. அவ்விதம் முடி தரித்துச் செங்கோல் செலுத்தி ஆண்டவர்கள் சேர, சோழ, பாண்டியர் என்னும் மூவராவர். இம் மூவேந்தரில் ஒருவருக்குக் கீழ்ப்பட்டவராய் பல சிற்றரசர்கள் ஆங்காங்கு ஒரு சிறு பகுதியை ஆண்டு வந்தனர். அவர்கள் குறுநிலமன்னர் என்று வழங்கப்பட்டனர். அக் குறுநிலமன்னர்களிற் சிலர் முடியுடை வேந்தர்க்குத் திறைகொடுத்து வந்தனர். சிலர் அவர்களுடைய படைத்தலைவராய் விளங்கினர். இன்னும் சிலர் தனியாட்சியுடனும் ஆண்டுவந்ததாகத் தெரிகிறது. இவ்விதம் அடுத்தடுத்து நெருங்கினாற் போல பல அரசர்கள் தோன்றி விளங்கினமையால் அவர்களிடையே அடிக்கடி போர்கள் நிகழ்ந்துவந்தன. அதனால் நெறிமுறை பிழைத்து மெலிகோல் செய்த வேந்தரும், நலிவெய்தி வலிகுன்றினோரும், அரசராய்த் தோன்றித் தலைமை கொள்ளுவது இயலாததாயிற்று. அடுத்தடுத்துப் பகைமை விளைந்து வந்ததனால், தமிழ் மக்களும் மறமும் வீரமும் படைத்து, போரென்னுஞ் சொல் தேனினுங் களிப்புச்செய்யும் சிந்தையராய், அச்சமென்பதறியாத தீரர்களாய்த் திகழ்ந்தார்கள்.

முடியரசைத் தவிர வேறு எவ்விதமான அரசியல் வாழ்க்கையையும் தமிழ் மக்கள் விரும்பவில்லை. அரசனும் தமிழனாய்ப் பிறந்தவன், குடிகளும் தனித் தமிழ் மக்கள். அரசனுக்குத் தன்னாட்டின்மீது பக்தியும் குடிகள் மீது அன்பும் நிறைந்திருந்தன. அரசையும் குடியையும் அகலவிடாது

தாய்மொழியாகிய தமிழ்மொழி இறுக்கிப் பிணைத்தது. இருவரிடையும் ஒன்றுபட்ட உணர்ச்சிகளே உள்ளத்தூறித்ததும்பின. குடிமக்களின் வாழ்க்கை நலனைத்தவிர வேறு எதையும் அரசன் கனவிலுங் கண்டறியான். இவ்வித மன்னனின் கீழ்குடிகளும் தண்புனற் பூசலல்லது கண்புனற்பூசல் கொள்ளாது, புலிபுறங்காக்கும் குருளைபோல, ஏமவாழ்வை யெய்தினர். 'கொடுங்கோலன்' என்னும் பழிச்சொல் தனக்கு நேருமாயின், அதைவிடத் தனக்கு வேறு கேடு உளதாகத் தமிழரசன் கொள்வானல்லன். நெடுஞ்செழியனின் நெடுமொழியால் நாம் இதை அறியலாம்.

“ என்னிழல் வாழ்நர் சென்னிழற் காணாது
கொடியனெம் மிறையெனக் கண்ணீர் பரப்பிக்
குடிபழி தூற்றுங் கோலே னாகுக.”

(புறநானூறு—72).

இங்கு, ஒல்லையூர் தந்த பூதப் பாண்டியன் என்னும் மற்றோர் அரசன் கூறியுள்ள உரிமை வாய்மொழியைத் தமிழன்பர்கள் நன்கு தெரிந்திருத்தல் வேண்டும். ஒவ்வொரு நாட்டிலும் அந்நாட்டு மக்கள் தங்கள் அரசர் தமக்குக் கொடுத்துள்ள உரிமைப் பத்திரத்தை அதிக ஆவலுடனும் அபிமானத்துடனும் போற்றிப் பாராட்டுகிறார்கள். உதாரணமாக, ஆங்கில நாட்டில் மாக்னா கார்ட்டா (Magna Carta) அல்லது பெரிய சுதந்திரப் பத்திரம் (The Great Charter) என்று ஒன்றிருக்கிறது. சுமார் எண்ணூறு ஆண்டுகளுக்குமுன் அந்நாட்டுத் தலைவர்களாயுள்ளார் ஒருங்கு கூடிக் கொடுங்கோல் புரிந்து வந்த ஜாண் (King John) என்னும் அரசனை வற்புறுத்தி, ஒரு சுதந்திரப் பிரகடனத்திற் கையெழுத்துப் பெற்றனர். அதற்கு மாக்னா கார்ட்டா என்று பெயர். அதை ஆங்கில நாட்டு மக்களின் சுதந்திரத்திற்கு உயிர் அளித்த மூலாதாரப்பத்திரம் என்று கொண்டாடுகின்றார்கள். ஆங்கிலர் அம்மன்னன் மனங்கலக்கிக் கொடுத்த வாக்குறுதியைத் தம் உயிரினும் மேலாகப் போற்றுகின்றனர். அவ்விதமிருப்ப, நம் தமிழ் நாட்டில் ஒரு தமிழரசன் தமிழ் மக்களுக்கு, பலவந்தம் ஒன்றும் இல்லாத நிலையிலே, தன்குடிகள் ஒன்றும் கேளாதிருக்கவும், தானாகவே, உள்ளம் பூரித்து, தனது அரசியல் கோட்பாட்டை இனிது விளக்கி, நடு நின்று அறநெறிபிழையாது முறைசெலுத்தும் தனது ஆற்றலையும், குடிகளிடத்துத் தனக்குள்ள கடமையையும், ஓரழகிய கவியாக வெளியிட்டானாகில் அக்கவியை அம்மக்கள் எவ்வாறு போற்றவேண்டும்! அப்பாடல் நம்முன்னோர்கள் செய்த தவப்பயனாலும், நம்முடைய புண்ணியவசத்தாலும் நமக்குக் கிடைத்திருக்கும் நிலையில் நாம் அதைத்தினமும் நம் உச்சிமேல் வைத்துப் பூசித்து உள்ளங்குளிர வேண்டுமல்லவா?

அப்பூதப் பாண்டியன் என்னும் அரசன் பாண்டிய மரபிலே மிகவும் பழைய காலத்துள்ளவன் என்பது ஆராய்ச்சியாற் போதரும். இவ்வரசன் அகநானூற்று 25வது பாடலில், பொதியில் செல்வனாகிய திதியன் என்

னும் அரசனைப் பாராட்டிப் பாடியிருப்பதே இவனது தொன்மையை உணர்த்துவதற்குத் தக்கசான்றாகும். பூதப்பாண்டியன் சிறந்த போர்வீரனாக விளங்கினான். தன் தோள்வலியால் ஒல்லையூர் என்னும் நாட்டை வென்று பாண்டி நாட்டைப் பெருகச்செய்தான். கற்பிற்சிறந்த அறிவாட்டியாகிய பெருங்கோப் பெண்டைத் தன் வாழ்க்கைத் துணையாகக் கொண்டவன். ஒருநாள் தன் தேவியுடன் இராசமண்டபத்திற் கொலுவீற்றிருந்தான். அரசவையில் தன் இணைபிரியா அன்பர்களான மாவன், ஆந்தை, அந்துவஞ்சாத்தன், ஆதனழிசி, வீரம் செறிந்த இயக்கன் முதலியோரும், மந்திரிகளும், படைத்தலைவர்களும், மற்றும் குடிமக்களிற் சிறந்தோரும் கூடியிருந்தனர். அவ்வமயம் தன் அரசியலின் குறிக்கோளை ஒரு கவியாகப் பாடி வெளியிட்டான். அக்கவியில், அவனது வீரம் செறிந்த போர்வலியும், அவன் தனது மனைவியிடத்துக் கொண்டுள்ள கழியாக்காதலும், அவன் தன் நாட்டில் நீதி செலுத்திவந்த முறையும், அந்நீதியின் இறைதிறம்பா நெறிமுறையும், அவன் தன் கண்போன்ற நண்பருடன் அளவளாவி மகிழ்ந்ததும் அவனது என்றும் மாறாத தேசபக்தியும், (Patriotism), தன் குடிகளிடம் கொண்டிருந்த அன்பும், செறிந்து மிளிர்கின்றன. அச்செய்யுள் தமிழ் நாட்டு சுதந்திரத்திற்கே ஓர் அடிப்படைக்கல் என்னலாகும்.

அச்செய்யுள் வருமாறு :—

" மடங்கலிற் சினைஇ மடங்கா வுள்ளத்
தடங்காத் தானை வேந்த ருடங்கியைந்
தென்னொடு பொருது மென்ப வவரை
ஆரம ரலறத் தாக்கித் தேரொடு
அவர்ப்புறங் காணே னாயிற் சிறந்த
பேரம ருண்கண் இவளினும் பிரிக
அறனிலை திரியா வன்பி னவையத்துத்
திறனில் ஒருவனை நாட்டி முறைதிரிந்து
மெலிகோல் செய்தேன் ஆகுக மலிபுகழ்
வையை சூழ்ந்த வளங்கெழு வைப்பிற்
பொய்யா யாணர் மையற் கோமான்
மாவனும் மன்னெயில் ஆந்தையும் உரைசால்
அந்துவஞ் சாத்தனும் ஆதன் அழிசியும்
வெஞ்சின இயக்கனும் உளப்படப் பிறரும்
கண்போல் நண்பிற் கேளிரொடு கலந்த
இன்களி மகிழ்நகை யிழுக்கியான் ஒன்றோ
மன்பதை காக்கும் நீள்குடிச் சிறந்த
தென்புலங் காவலின் ஒரீஇப் பிறர்
வன்புலங் காவலின் மாறியான் பிறக்கே."

(புறநானூறு—71).

இதனுல், அவன் தன் நாட்டிற் பலவிடங்களிலும் நீதி மன்றங்களை நியமித்துத் தக்க சான்ருேர்களைத் தெரிந்தெடுத்து நீதிபதிகளாக ஏற்படுத்தித்தன் குடிகளுக்கு அறங்கடவாது முறைசெலுத்தினுன் என்பதும் அச்செயலில் தான் அதிக கவலை எடுத்துக்கொண்டான் என்பதும் தெரிய வரும். தான் அவ்விதம் இயல்பாகவே ஒழுகி வருவதை, ஒரு வாக்குறுதி அளிப்பதுபோல், பிறர் வேண்டாமல் தானுகவே, களங்கமின்றி வெளிப் படுத்தித் தன் குடிமக்களை மகிழவைத்தான் என்பது மிகையாகாது. தொன்றுதொட்டு வாழையடிவாழையாகத் தழைத்துவரும் பாண்டியர் பரம்பரையில், தானும் தோன்றித் தென்பாண்டி நாட்டைப் புறங்காத்து வரும் பேறு தனக்குக் கிடைத்ததைப் பாராட்டியிருக்கிறுன். உற்ருர் உறவினருடன் கலந்து, ஆருயிர்த் தோழர்களிடையே நகை விளைவித்துத் தாய் நாட்டில் வாழும்பேறே தனக்குப் பெருமகிழ்வாகக்கொண்டிருந்தான். தன் குடிமக்களை மகிழ்வித்துச் செங்கோல் செலுத்தித் தாய் நாட்டைப் பேணுவதே தன் தவப்பயன் எனக் கொண்டவன். "அவ்விதம் முறை செய்வதிற் பிழைத்துப் பகைவர்க்கஞ்சி, அவர்களை வென்று வாகைசூடாது புறங்கொடுப்பேனுகில், யான் ஆளும் என் அருமைத் தாய்நாட்டில் மறு பிறப்பிற் பிறவாது, பிறர் ஆளும் வன்புலங்களிற் போய்ப் பிறக்கக் கடவேன்." என்று வஞ்சினங் கூறினுன். என்னே அவனுடைய தேசபக்தி! இப்பிறப்பில் தான் பிறந்த தமிழ் நாட்டிற்கு அற்புக்கடம் பூண்டு ஒழுகுவ தன்றி, மறுபிறப்பிலும் இத்தாய் நாடாகிய தமிழ்த்திருநாட்டிலே மாறிப் பிறந்து சேவை செய்யும் பேறு தனக்குக் கிடைக்கவேண்டுமே என்னும் அவனது ஆவலும் தவிப்பும் உணர்ச்சியற்ற கயவர் மனத்தையும் உருக்கிப் பிணிப்பதொன்ருகும். இவ்வித தேசபக்தி வேறு எவ்விடத்தும் யாரிடத்தும் காண்டற்கரியதொன்று. பூதப் பாண்டியனுடைய இவ்வரியவாக்கே தமிழ் மக்களுடைய மாக்ஞ கார்ட்டா.

இவ்விதம் வஞ்சினங் கூறிய அரசர்களுள் மற்ருெருவன் சோழன் நலங்கிள்ளி. அவன் கூற்றில் ஒரு பகுதியை நாம் ஆராய்தல் வேண்டும். "என் பகைவரை யானையின்காலில் அகப்பட்ட மூங்கிலின் முளைபோல வளைத்து அழியாது விடுவேனுகில், என்மாலை பொதுப்பெண்டிரது பொருந்தாத புணர்ச்சியிடைத்துவள்வதாக." என்கின்ருன்.

"நீதில் நெஞ்சத்துக் காதல் கொள்ளாப்
பல்லிருங் கூந்தன் மகளிர்
ஒல்லா முயக்கிடைக் குழைகவென் தாரே."
(புறநானூறு—73).

பரத்தையர் தோள்களைத் தான் தோய்வதாகச் சொல்வது கூட இழுக்காதலால், சொல்வதற்கு வாய் கூசி, தன்மாலை குழைவதாக என்று அவன் தன் மாலைமேலேற்றிக் கூறுங் கருத்து அறிந்து மகிழ்வதற் கொன்ருகும். இதனுல் அரசர்களுக்கு நன்னடக்கையான ஒழுக்கம் இன்றியமையாத

தொன்றென்பது புலனாகும். தமிழ் மக்கள் பரத்தமை தீதென்று கண்டித்தொதுக்கினர் என்பதும் இதனால் தெளிவாகும். உண்மை இங்ஙனம் இருப்பவும், சிலர் அகப்பொருள் பாடல்களிலிருந்து, தமிழ்மக்கள், தம் மனைவிமார் கர்ப்பிணிகளாயிருந்த காலத்தில், பரத்தையர் வீடுகளுக்குச் சென்று பொழுது போக்குவர், என்று முடிவு கட்டிவிடுவார்கள். அகத்திணைப் பாடல்களெல்லாம், சில கவி மரபுகளைக்கொண்டு அச்சுவார்த்தது போல், அமைக்கப்பட்டவை. அவற்றை ஆதாரமாகக்கொண்டு அவ்விதம் ஆராயலுறுவது தவறாகவே முடியும். உவாநாளன்று திங்களின் முழுவடிவையுங் கண்ட ஒருவன் உலகில் ஒவ்வொரு இரவும் திங்கள் நிறைவடிவுடனேயே தோன்றும் என்று தேற்ற முறுவதில் எவ்வளவு உண்மையிருக்குமோ அவ்வளவு உண்மைதான் அத்துறை ஆராய்ச்சியிலுமுண்டு.

தமிழ் நாட்டில் அரச பதவியானது தந்தையிடத்திலிருந்து தலைமகனுக்கிறங்கித் (Law of Primogeniture) தலைமுறை தலைமுறையாகத் தொடர்ந்து வந்தது. கோப் பெருஞ்சோழன் தன் குமாரர்களை எதிர்த்துச் சண்டை செய்யத் தொடங்கிய காலத்தில், எயிற்றியனார் என்னும் புலவர், அவன் சண்டை செய்வதைத் தடுத்து,

> "பரந்துபடு நல்லிசை யெய்தி மற்றுநீ
> உயர்ந்தோர் உலகம் எய்திப் பின்னும்
> ஒழித்த தாயம் அவர்க்குரித் தன்றே
> ....
> எண்ணில் காட்சி யிளையோர் தோற்பின்
> நின்பெருஞ் செல்வம் யார்க்கெஞ் சுவையே."

(புறநானூறு—213.)

என்று கூறியிருப்பதிலிருந்து தாயமுறையை நாம் ஒருவாறு ஊகித்தறியலாம். இவ்விதம் தாயமாகக் கொண்டு, ஊழ்வசத்தால் தமக்குக் கிடைத்த அரச பதவியை வலியுடை யொருவன் பெற்று, ஆறிலொரு கடமை கொண்டு, குடிகளைத் துன்புறுத்தாது, பகைவரைவென்று வாழ்வானாயின், அவன் அவ்வரச பதவியைத் துன்ப மின்றித்தாங்கலாம். அரசபாரம் கிடேச்சுப்போல் அவனுக்கு எளிதாகவிருக்கும். அவ்விதமின்றி, முடி தலை யேறியவுடன் தருக்கடைந்து தலைசுற்றி, அறநெறியிற் பிழைத்துக் குடிகளைத் துன்புறுத்திப் பொருள் பறிக்கத் தொடங்குவானேல், அவன் தன் பதவியைத்தாங்க முடியாமல் அழிந்து கெடுவான். பகைவரை வெல்லும் ஆண்மையற்று மனம் சுருங்கிய சிறியோரே அவ்வாறு, வேலி பயிரை மேய்வதுபோல், குடிமக்களைத் துன்புறுத்திக் கொடுங்கோல் புரிவர் என்னும் பொருள்பட, சோழன் நலங்கிள்ளி கூறுகிறான் :—

> "மூத்தோர் மூத்தோர்க் கூற்ற முய்த்தெனப்
> பால்தர வந்த பழவிறற் றாயம்

எய்தின மாயின் எய்தினஞ் சிறப்பெனக்
குடிபுர விரக்குங் கூரி லாண்மைச்
சிறியோன் பெறினது சிறந்தன்று மன்னே
மண்டமர்ப் பரிக்கு மதனுடை நோன்ருள்
விழுமியோன் பெறுகுவ னுயின் ஆழ்நீர்
அறுகய மருங்கிற் சிறுகோல் வெண்கிடை
என்றாழ் வாடுவறல் போல நன்றும்
நொய்தா லம்ம தானே மையற்று
விசும்புற வோங்கிய வெண்குடை
முரசுகெழு வேந்தர் அரசுகெழு திருவே.''

(புறநானூறு—75.)

இதனுல் அரசன் ஆறின்றி அதிகமான பொருள் குடிகளிடம் வாங்கலாகா தென்பதும், அவ்விதம் வாங்கும் சிறுமையையுடைய அரசனுக்கு, அரச பாரம் பழுவாகக்கனத்து அவனை நசித்துவிடும் என்பதும், பகைவரை வென்று பொருளீட்டும் வன்மையையுடைய அரசன் தன் குடிகளை வருத் தான் என்பதும், போர்வலிமை அரசர்க்கு இன்றியமையாதென்பதும், குடிகள் சிந்திய கண்ணீர் அரசனை அழிக்கும் படை என்பதும் விளக்கமா கும். அறநெறிப்படித் தன் பகுதிக்கேற்பட்ட இறைப் பொருளுக்கதிக மாக, எப்பொருளையேனும் அரசன் இரந்துபெற்றுலுங் கூட, அதுவுங் கொடுங்கோன்மையே யாகும் என்று நம் முன்னோர்கள் கருதி யிருந்தனர். அவ்விதம் அதிகமான பொருளை இரந்து பெறும் அரசனுக்கும், வேலேந்தி நின்று ஆறலைக்கும் கள்வனுக்கும் வேற்றுமை யில்லை என்கிருர் திருவள்ளு வரும்:—

“வேலொடு நின்ருன் இடுவென் றதுபோலுங்
கோலொடு நின்ருன் இரவு.''

குடிமக்கள் தங்கள் குறைகளை அரசனிடம் நேரில் தெரிவித்துக் கொள்வதற்கு இடைஞ்சல் ஒன்றும் இல்லாத விதத்தில், அரசன் காட்சிக் கெளியனுய், தாயினுந் தயாவுடைய வள்ளலாய், உழவுத்தொழிலை வளர்க் கும் உத்தமனுய் விளங்கவேண்டும். வானம் வறப்பினும் மக்கள் தானம் தவறினும், இயற்கைமுறை பிறழினும் அரசனையே உலகத்தார் குறை கூறுவர். அரசன் செங்கோல் நேரிதாய் இருந்தால் மட்டுமே மழைவளங் குறையாது உலகம் செழிப்புறும். செங்கோல் நேரிதாய் இருக்கவேண்டு மாகில், அரசன் நேரில் தன் குடிகளின் குறைகளைக் கேட்கும் சித்தமுள்ளவ னுய், அவர்கள் அவனை எளிதில் அணுகி முறையிடுவதற்குத் தக்க வசதி கள் அளிக்கும் அன்புடையவனுய் இருக்கவேண்டும். இவ்விதம் வேண் டியகாலத்தில் அரசனைச் சந்தித்துப் பேசும் பாக்கியம் பெற்ற குடிகள் நீர் வேண்டிய காலத்தில் மழையைப் பெற்றவர்கள் போன்று பெரிதும் மகிழ் வெய்துவர். இக்கருத்துக்களை வெள்ளைக்குடி நாகனர் வெகு நயமுடன் உரைத்திருக்கின்ருர்.

"அறம்புரிந் தன்ன செங்கோ ணாட்டத்து
முறைவேண்டு பொழுதிற் பதனெளி யோரீண்
டுறைவேண்டு பொழுதிற் பெயல்பெற் றோரே
ஞாயிறு சுமந்த கோடுதிரள் கொண்மூ
மாக விசும்பி னடுவுநின் றாங்குக்
கண்பொர விளங்குநின் விண்பொரு வியன்குடை
வெயின்மறைக் கொண்டன்றோ வன்றே வருந்திய
குடிமறைப் பதுவே கூர்வேல் வளவ
வெளிற்றுப்பனந் துணியின் வீற்றுவீற் றுக் கிடப்பக்
களிற்றுக்கணம் பொருத கண்ணகன் பறந்தலை
வருபடை தாங்கிப் பெயர்புறத் தார்த்துப்
பொருபடை தரூஉங் கொற்றமும் உழுபடை
யூன்றுசான் மருங்கி னீன்றதன் பயனே
மாரி பொய்ப்பினும் வாரி குன்றினும்
இயற்கை யல்லன செயற்கையிற் றோன்றினும்
காவலர்ப் பழிக்குமிக் கண்ணகன் ஞாலம்
அதுநற் கறிந்தனை யாயி னீயும்
நொதும லாளர் பொதுமொழி கொள்ளாது
பகடுபுறந் தருநர் பார மோம்பிக்
குடிபுறந் தருகுவை யாயினின்
அடிபுறந் தருகுவ ரடங்கா தோரே."

(புறநானூறு—35).

இதனால் அரசன் தன் நாட்டில் பயிர்த்தொழிலை வளரச் செய்ய வேண்டுமென்பதும் பெறப்படும். அரசன் கொடுங்கோலனாய் இருப்பானாயின் மழைவளங் குறைந்து நாட்டிற் பஞ்ச முண்டாகி விடும். ஆகவே உயிரையாக்கும் நெல்லும் நீரும் உளவாவது மன்னன் முறைசெய்து காத்தலினாலே உண்டாவதாம். இதனைக் குடிகள் நன்குணர்ந்து தம் அரசனைத் தம் உயிராக மதித்துப் போற்றிவந்தனர். அரசனும், தன் வேலின் வென்றியை நோக்கியும் கோலின் கருணையை நோக்கியும் தன் குடிகள் வாழ்வதை எண்ணி, நாடாகிய உடலுக்குத்தான் உயிராயிருப்பதை உணர்ந்து, குடிகளிடத்து அன்பு பூண்டு ஆட்சிபுரிந்தான்.

"நெல்லும் உயிரன்றே நீரும் உயிரன்றே
மன்னன் உயிர்த்தே மலர்தலை உலகம்
அதனால், யானுயி ரென்ப தறிகை
வேன்மிகு தானை வேந்தற்குக் கடனே.

(புறநானூறு—185).

இக்காலத்தில் நீரைப் பராமரிப்பதற்கென்று ஒரு தனி இலாகா (P. W. D.) அரசாங்கத்தார் ஏற்படுத்தி யிருக்கின்றனர். வானம் எவ்வளவு மழையைப் பொழிந்தாலும், அதைச் சீர்பெற நீர்நிலைகளில் தேக்கிக் காலா காலங்களிற் பயிர்களுக்கு உபயோகப் படுத்தாதுபோனால் நாட்டிற் கருப்பு மலிந்துவிடும். உணவுப்பொருள்கள் கிடையாது மாந்தர் வருந்த வேண்டிவரும். ஆகவே நாட்டில் நீரைப் பெருக்கவேண்டியது வேந்தனது முதற் கடமையாகும். இதை நம் முன்னோர் நன்கு தெரிந்து அதன்படி நீரைப் பேணிவந்தனர் என்பது புறநானூறு—18வது பாடலால் நாம் அறிகிறோம். இவ்விதம் செய்வதால், அரசன் மறுமையில் வானுலகம் எய்துதலு மல்லாமல் இம்மையிலும் பகைவரை வென்று நல்ல புகழை நிலை நாட்டுவதற்கு முக்கிய ஏதுவாகும் என்பதை அறிவாளிகள் அவ்வப்போது அரசர்க்குப் போதித்து வந்தனர். அரசரும் அதன்படி நடந்து வந்தனர்.

“செல்லு முலகத்துச் செல்வம் வேண்டினும்
ஞாலங் காவலர் தோள்வலி முருக்கி
ஒருநீ யாகல் வேண்டினு மற்றதன்
தகுதி கேளினி மிகுதி யாள
நீரின் றமையா யாக்கைக் கெல்லாம்
உண்டி கொடுத்தோ ருயிர்கொடுத் தோரே
உண்டி முதற்றே யுணவின் பிண்டம்
உணவெனப் படுவது நிலத்தொடு நீரே
நீரு நிலனும் புணரி யோரீண்
டுடம்பு முயிரும் படைத்திசி னோரே
வித்திவா னோக்கும் புன்புலங் கண்ணகன்
வைப்பிற் றாயினு நண்ணி யாளும்
இறைவன் றாட்குத வாதே யதனால்
அடுபோர்ச் செழிய விகழாது வல்லே
நிலனெளி மருங்கி னீர்நிலை பெருகத்
தட்டோ ரம்ம விவட்டட் டோரே
தள்ளா தோரிவட் டள்ளா தோரே.”

(புறநானூறு—18).

தற்கால அரசியல் வாதிகள், வாணிகம், உழவு, (Trade and Agriculture) ஆகிய இரண்டு தொழிலும் ஒரு நாட்டில் செழித்து வளர்ந்தால் மட்டுமே அந்நாடு முன்னேற்றமடையும் என்று இரவும் பகலும் அறிக்கை செய்து வருகிறார்கள். இதிற் புதுமை ஒன்றும் இல்லை. அக்காலத் தமிழ் மக்கள் தம் நாட்டிற் செல்வம் வளர்வதற்கு இவ்விருதொழிலும் மேன்மையுற வேண்டும் என்பதை நன்கறிந்து உழவையும் வாணிகத்தையும் விருத்தி செய்து வந்தார்கள். மதுரைக் காஞ்சியில்,

"வியன் மேவல் விழுச் செல்வத்து
இருவகை யான் இசை சான்ற
சிறு குடிப் பெருந் தொழுவர்."

என்று வந்துள்ள அடிகளாலும் அதற்கு நச்சினர்க்கினியர் எழுதியிருக்கும் உரையாலும் இது விளக்கமுறும். உள் நாட்டு வியாபாரமன்றி, வெளி நாடுகளுக்கும், தமிழர் கடலைக் கடந்து சென்று வியாபாரம் செய்து வந்தனர். இதற்கு வேண்டிய மரக்கலப்படைகளையும் தமிழரசர் பலப்படுத்தி வைத்திருந்தனர். சேரவரசர் பொன்னைத் தரும் மரக்கலங்களை மேல்கடலிற் செலுத்திவந்தனர் என்றும், அங்கு வேறொருவருடைய மரக்கலங்கள் செல்வதற்கியலாதபடி சேரர் ஆணை அங்குப் பரவி யிருந்ததென்றும் புறநானூற்றால் நாம் தெரிகின்றோம்.

"சினமிகு தானை வானவன் குடகடற்
பொலந்தரு நாவா யோட்டிய வவ்வழிப்
பிறகலஞ் செல்கலா தனையேம்."

(புறநானூறு—126).

அரசன் தன் மந்திரிகளுடனும், படைத்தலைவர்களுடனும், தக்க சான்றோருடனும் கலந்து தீர ஆராய்ந்தே ஒவ்வொரு காரியத்தையும் செய்து வந்தான். தன் அரசவைக்கு வரும் கல்விமான்களையும், புலவர்களையும் அதிக வணக்கத்துடன் பரிந்தேற்றுச் சிறப்புச்செய்தான். புலவர்களும், அரசனைக்கண்டால், கால்நடுங்கிக் கைகட்டிக் கருத்தழியாமல் மிகவும் பழகிய உயிர்த்தோழர் போல் அளவளாவி வந்தனர். புறநானூறு—14வது பாடலால் அரசன் புலவருக்குக் கைகொடுத்து முகமன் கூறும் வழக்கம் (Shakehands) இருந்ததாகத் தெரிகிறது. புறநானூறு—19வது பாடலாலும், 151வது பாடலாலும் அரசரும் புலவரும் மார்போடு மார்பு பொருந்தக் கட்டிக்கொண்டு முகமன் வழங்கினர் என்பதும் தெரியவரும்.

நரிவெரூ-உத்தலையார் என்றொரு புலவர் இருந்தார். இவருக்குத் தன் உடம்பு மாறிச் சற்று விகாரமுற்றதுபோல தலையில் ஒரு நோய் தோன்றியது. அதைக்கண்ட பலரும் ஒரு அரசன் திருமுன்பு சென்று கண்டால் அந்நோய் தீர்ந்து மீண்டும் பழைய உடம்பு பெறலாம் என்று கூறினர். அதன்படி அவர் சென்று சேரமான் கருவூரேறிய ஒள்வாட் கோப்பெருஞ் சேர லிரும்பொறையைக் கண்டார். அவ்வரசனைக் கண்டவுடன் நோய்தீர்ந்து தன் உடம்பு பெற்றார். இதனால் அக்காலத்தில் அரசனுடைய திருமுன்னர் சில நோய்கள் தீரும் என்ற நம்பிக்கை தமிழ் நாட்டில் இருந்ததாகத் தெரிகிறது. இவ்விதமான நம்பிக்கைகள் பல தேசங்களிலும் பலவாறாகக் காணப்படுகின்றன. சில குழந்தைகளுக்குக் கழுத்தின் இருபக்கமும் சிலகட்டிகள் காணப்படும். இதை ஸ்க்ரோபியூலா (Scrofula) என்று ஆங்கிலத்திற் சொல்வர். ஆங்கிலநாட்டில், இந்நோய்கண்ட பிள்ளை

களைத் தாய்மார் எடுத்துச் சென்று அரசனுக்குக் காட்டுவர். குழந்தைகளுக்கு நோய் தீர்ந்துவிடும். அதனுல் இந்நோய்க்கு 'கிங்ஸ் ஈவிள்' (King's Evil) என்ருெரு பெயருமுண்டு. டாக்டர் ஜாண்ஸன் (Dr. Johnson) என்னும் ஆங்கிலப்பெரியார் சிறு குழந்தையாய் இருந்த பொழுது, இந்த 'கிங்ஸ் ஈவிள்' என்னும்நோய் அவருக்குக் கண்டதாகவும், அவரை அரசனிடங்கொண்டு காட்டினதாகவும், பாஸ்வெல் (Boswell) என்பவர் எழுதிய சரித்திரத்திற் காணலாம். நரிவெரூ-உத்தலையாருக்கும் இவ்விதமானதொரு நோய் ஏற்பட்டு அது அச்சேரவரசன் முன்னிலையிற் குணப்பட்டிருக்க வேண்டுமென்று இதனுல் ஊகிக்கலாம். அவ்விதம் பிணிதீர்ந்து பெருமகிழ்வெய்திய புலவர் அவ்வரசனுக்குச் சில நீதிமொழிகளைக் கூறியிருக்கிருர். அவர் கூறியது, "அருளையும் அன்பையும் நீக்கிப் பாவம் செய்பவர் நரகத்தில் விழுந்து அழுந்துவர். அன்னவருடைய உறவை நீ கொள்ளாது, நீ காத்துவரும் நாட்டைக் குழவியை வளர்க்கும் தாய்போலப் பாதுகாப்பாயாக. அக்காவல் அளிக்கத் தக்கதொன்று. அது பெறுதற்கரியதாகும்."

"அருளு மன்பும் நீக்கி நீங்கா
நிரயங் கொள்பவரொ டொன்ருது காவல்
குழவி கொள்பவரி னேம்புமதி
அளிதோ தானேயது பெறலருங் குரைத்தே."

(புறநானூறு—5).

இவ்விதம், குடிகள் நலத்தையே கருதும் முடியரசு நிலைபெற்றுத் தமிழ் நாடெங்கும் நிகழ்ந்து வந்தமையால் வேறுவிதமான, குடியரசு (Democracy) பொதுவுடைமை (Communism) முதலிய அரசியல் வாழ்க்கைகளைத் தமிழ்மக்கள் அக்காலத்துத் தெரிந்திருந்தனரோ என வினவில், அவர்கள் நன்கு தெரிந்திருந்தார்கள் என்றே கொள்ளலாம். பொதுவுடைமை என்னும் அரசியல் இயக்கம் தற்காலத்தில் தானே தலை எடுத்திருக்கிறது என்று சிலர் ஐயுற வெய்தலாம். பொதுவுடைமைக் கொள்கைப்படி, பிரபு ஏழை என்ற வேற்றுமையே நாட்டில் இருத்தல் கூடாது. "எல்லாரும் செல்வர்களாய் இன்பம் எய்தி ஏன் இருத்தல் கூடாது?" என்பர். அவ்விதம் ஏழை, தனவான் என்னும் வேற்றுமை யில்லாது போய்விடின், ஒரு நாடு என்னுகும் என்பதை, அழகிய குறளொன்றில் திருவள்ளுவர் குறித்திருப்பது யாவருக்கும் தெரிந்த செய்தியாகும்.

"இரப்பாரை யில்லாயின் ஈர்ங்கண்மா ஞாலம்
மரப்பாவை சென்றுவந் தற்று."

ஊக்கம் என்பதே நாட்டிற்குன்றிவிடும். உழைப்பிற்குக் காரணம் பொருள் திரட்ட வேண்டுமென்னும் எண்ணம். எல்லாரும் ஒரே நிலையிற் செல்வம் எய்துவர் என்னும் தன்மை வாய்ந்துவிட்டால் ஒருவனுக்குப் பொருளீட்ட

வேண்டுமென்ற எண்ணம் பிறவாது. மனத்தோடு பொருந்திய உழைப் பென்பது இல்லையாகவும், உலகில் மாந்தர் உயிரிலா ஓவியங்களாய் கலை நேர்ச்சியும் கைத்திறத் தேர்ச்சியுமற்று வறிதாவர். உலகவாழ்வே பசை யற்றொழியும். வறியரானோர் தம் புத்தியின் கூர்மையை வெளிப்படுத்து, வீறுகொண்டு வேலை செய்தலிலராய், ஒத்துழைத்தலின்றிப் பொருளீட்டுங் கோட்பாடற்று வீணேகழிவர். செல்வராயுள்ளார் ஈத்துவக்கு மின்ப மெய்துதலின்றி, அறம்வளர்த்தற்குரிய ஈகையைச் செவ்வனே நடத்துத லின்றி, உலகவாழ்க்கையே பயனின்றிக்கழியும். இவ்வுண்மையை ஆவூர் மூலங்கிழார், புறநானூறு—38வது பாடலில் வெகு அழகாக எடுத்து மொழிகிறார். அங்கு, பொதுவுடைமைக்குப் பதில் துறக்க உலகத்தைக் குறித்துப் பேசுகிறார். இவ்வுலகில் ஒருவன் தான் செய்யும் புண்ணியத் தின் பயனால் துறக்கத்தையடைந்து அங்கு இன்பந்துய்க்கிறான். ஆனால் அங்கு உடையோர் (the Haves), இல்லோர் (the Havenots), என்ற வேற்றுமையில்லை. அதனால் அங்கு ஈகைக்கு வழியில்லை. "மேலுலகம் இல்லெனினும் ஈதலே நன்று" என்னும் கொள்கையையுடைய தமிழ் மக்க ளுக்கு, ஈகைக்கு இடமில்லாத அத்தேவ லோகமும் சிறப்பாகத் தோன்றுவ தில்லை. ஒருவன் பாடுபட்டுப் பணத்தைத் தேடி மனையாளொடு இல்லறம் நடத்தி இவ்வுலகில் வாழ்வதெல்லாம் ஈதலின் பொருட்டேயாகும். அவ்வீ கைக்கு எங்கு இடமில்லையோ அவ்விடம் தமிழ்மக்களுக்கு வேண்டற்பால தொன்றன்று; ஆகையால் அவ்வித தேவலோக நுகர்ச்சியுடன் ஈகையும் சிறந்து விளங்கும் கிள்ளிவளவன் நாடே மிகச் சிறந்த தென்கிறார் புலவர்.

"பொலம்பூங் காவி னன்னாட் டோரும்
செய்வினை மருங்கி னெய்த லல்லதை
உடையோ ரீதலு மில்லோ ரிரத்தலும்
கடவ தன்மையிற் கையற வுடைத்தென
ஆண்டுச்செய் நுகர்ச்சி யீண்டுங் கூடலின்
நின்னா டுள்ளுவர் பரிசிலர்
ஒன்னார் தேஎத்து நின்னுடைத் தெனவே."

(புறநானூறு—38).

இதனால் பொதுவுடைமைக் கொள்கையைத் தமிழ்மக்கள் துருவி யாராய்ந்து அது பயனற்றது என்று கைவிடுத்தனர் என்பது ஒருவாறு தெரியவரும்.

இவ்வித முடியரசைக் கொண்ட பண்டைத் தமிழ் நாடு செல்வமும் வளனும் படைத்துச் செழித்தோங்கி வளர்ந்து மிகவும் உன்னத நிலையை அடைந்திருந்தது (The Golden Age of the Tamils). தமிழ் மக்களும் பலவித உரிமைகளையும் பெற்று உவப்பெய்தி உள்ளங்குளிர்ந்தனர். பாவலர் பாராட்டவும், காவலர் தாலாட்டவும், கற்றறிந்தோர் சீராட்டவுமாய், தாய் மொழியாகிய தமிழ்மொழி கதிர்த்தெழுந்து களிநடம் புரிந்தது. இக் காலத்தில் மாந்தர் நாடுசெழிக்க மழைவேண்டி வானைநோக்கி வாடுகின்றனர்

அக்காலத்தில் மழைவளங் குன்றினும், வெள்ளி நிலை பிறழினும், அரசன் கோல் கோடாது செம்மையுற்றிருந்ததால், நாடுசெழித்து மாந்தர் இன்ப வாழ்க்கை எய்தினர். ஆகையால் குடிகள் அரசனது செங்கோலையே வாழ்த்திப்போற்றினர். விலங்குகள் கூட அச்செங்கோலின் பயனைத் துய்த்து வாழ்ந்தன. சான்றோர் நிறைந்து நாடு அமைதி பெற்றது.

"மைம்மீன் புகையினுந் தூமந் தோன்றினும்
தென்றிசை மருங்கின் வெள்ளி யோடினும்
வயலக நிறையப் புதற்பூ மலர
மனைத்தலை மகவை யீன்ற வமர்க்கண்
ஆமா நெடுநிரை நன்புல் ஆரக்
கோஒல் செம்மையிற் சான்றோர் பல்கிப்
பெயல்பிழைப் பறியாது."

தமிழ்நாடு இன்ப வாழ்வை அடைந்திருந்தது.

(தொடரும்).

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BY

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वाच्यैकदेशभङ्गेन चिदेकव्यक्तिनिष्ठता ।
सोऽयं गौरितिवत्तत्त्वंपदयोरित्यपेशलम् ॥
देशकालदशाभेदादेकस्मिन्नपि धर्मिणि ।
विरुद्धद्वन्द्वसंक्रान्तेः सोऽयं गौरिति युज्यते ॥
स्वप्रकाशस्य चिद्धातोर्विरुद्धद्वन्द्वसंगतौ ।
न व्यवस्थापकं किंचिद्देशकालदशादिके (कं ?) ॥

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निर्धूतनिखिलद्वन्द्वस्वप्रकाशे चिदात्मनि ।
द्वैतानर्थभ्रमाभावाच्छास्त्रं निर्विषयं भवेत् ॥
एतेन सत्यकामत्वजगत्कारणतादयः ।
मा....(योपाधौ ?)परेऽध्यस्ताः शोकमोहादयः पुनः ॥
अविद्योपाधिके जीवे विनाशे(भागे ?)नेति यन्मतम् ।
क्षुद्रब्रह्मविदामेतन्मतं प्रागेव दूषितम् ॥

Nor is it reasonable to argue that here, as in the judgment "This is that cow", part of the primary meaning of the two terms is left out so that the terms *tat* and *tvam* signify only pure consciousness; for since to the self-luminous object two contradictory features could be attributed on the basis of limiting conditions such as time and place, the statement "This is that cow" is quite legitimate; whereas in the case of self-luminous consciousness there is none of the limiting conditions like time or place to justify the attribution of opposite qualities.

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Moreover, since in respect of self-luminous consciousness which is wholly without distinctions of any kind, there is nothing to generate the illusion of difference, which is the root cause of misery, the *śāstras* become purposeless, (i.e., the contention that the *śāstras* purport to dispel the illusion of multiplicity falls to the ground).

To obviate this difficulty, persons imperfetctly acquainted with the nature of Brahman may suggest that the qualities of having desires which are ever fulfilled (*satyakāmatva*) and of being the cause of the world belong to Īśvara (who has *māyā* for his limiting condition), while qualities such as sorrow and delusion belong to the jīva who has *avidyā* for his limiting condition. But this view has already been refuted.

चित्स्वरूपे विशिष्टे वा मायाविद्याद्युपाधयः ।
पूर्वस्मिन् सर्वसांकर्यं परजीवाविभागतः ॥
उत्तरस्मिन्नपि तथा विशिष्टमपि चिद्यदि ।
चित्स्वरूपं हि निर्भेदं मायाविद्याद्युपाधिभिः ॥
विभिन्नमिव विभ्रान्तं विशिष्टं चेति .... (मन्यते?)
तटस्थावस्थिता धर्माः स्वरूपं न स्पृशन्ति किम् ।
न हि दण्डि(दण्ड्य?)शिरश्छेदाद्देवदत्तो न हिंसितः ॥
अचिदंशव्यपोहेन चिदेकपरिशेषता ।
अतस्तत्त्वमसीत्यादेरर्थ इत्यप्यसुन्दरम् ॥
अब्रह्मानात्मताभावे प्रत्यक् चित्परिशिष्यते ।
तत्त्वंपदद्वयं जीवपरतादात्म्यगोचरम् ॥
तन्मु(न मु?)ख्यवृत्ति तादात्म्यमपि(त्म्यं यतो?)वस्तुद्वयाश्रयम् ।
भेदाभेदविकल्पस्तु यस्त्वया परिचोदितः ॥

(We may ask:) Do limiting conditions such as *māyā* and *avidyā* relate to pure consciousness (*cit svarūpa*) or to consciousness possessed of qualifications (*viśiṣṭa*)? If it is the former, confusion would result; since it would be impossible to distinguish between jīva and Īśvara. If it is the latter, then also the same confusion would prevail. Should it be suggested that consciousness in itself is devoid of distinctions, but that, in association with *avidyā*, it deludes itself into believing that it is manifold and possessed of qualifications, we reply that the attributes belonging to an object as qualified (*taṭastha*) must certainly apply to it in itself (*svarūpa*). For example, from the fact of the beheading of Devadatta who had rendered himself liable to punishment, it is impossible to maintain that Devadatta in himself is not hurt.

Nor is it reasonable to assert that what is called *abrahman* or *anātman* does not exist, that what is left over is the inward consciousness and that the text "That thou art" signifies only this pure consciousness which remains after the elimination of the aspect of non-sentience. For the two terms, *tat* and *tvam*, of the text, which purports to teach the identity of the *jīva* and the lord, can be assigned their primary meaning (*mukhya-vṛtti*); and surely, identity presupposes two entities.

Since, on your theory, the world of multiplicity is unreal, in respect of the terms *tat* and *tvam* which do not denote at once difference and non-difference, there could be no identity (i.e., the terms are tautologous like "the jar is jar" or unidentifiable like "the jar is cloth"), it

अभेदाभेदिनोऽसत्ये बन्धे सति निरर्थकः ।
अभेदो भेदमर्दीति स्वाश्रयीभूतवस्तुनोः ॥
भेदः परस्परानात्म्यं भावानामेवमेतयोः ।
स्वरूपमभ्युपेत्यैव भेदाभेदविकल्पयोः ॥
....(विधानं ?)तेन वाग्बाधाविरोधेन निगृह्यसे ।
भिन्नाभिन्नत्वसंबन्धसदसत्त्वविकल्पनम् ॥
प्रत्यक्षानुभवापास्तं केवलं कण्ठशोषणम् ।
नीले नीलमतिर्यादृगुत्पले नीलधीर्हि सा ॥
नीलमुत्पलमेवेदमिति साक्षाच्चकास्ति नः ।
यथा विदितसंयोगसंबन्धेऽप्यक्षगोचरे ॥
भेदाभेदादिदुस्तर्कविकल्पाधानविभ्रमः ।
तद्वत्तादात्म्यसंबन्धे श्रुतिप्रत्यक्षमूलके ॥
श्रुतिदण्डेन दुस्तर्कविकल्पभ्रमवारणम् ।
निर्दोषाऽपौरुषेयी च श्रुतिरत्यर्थमादरात् ॥
असकृत्तत्त्वमित्याह तादात्म्यं ब्रह्मजीवयोः ।

is futile on your part to attempt to refute the notion of difference by suggesting that none of its alternatives (i.e. *bheda* being the very essence of the object or different therefrom) is tenable.

Further, since non-difference is what dispels the difference of its two substrates and since difference constitutes one object not being another, you yourself admit the essence of objects (*vastu-svarūpa*) as being distinct from *bhedābheda*, talk of the various alternatives as untenable and are thus vanquished by the inconsistency involved in your own position. All attempts to refute distinction by needless discussions, such as—Is it distinct or non-distinct? Is it related to the very essence of objects or not?—are falsified by perception and experience and are thus mere waste of lungs. The cognition "blue" is the same as the awareness "lotus"; for we directly get the apprehension "this is a blue lotus". When conjunction (*samyoga*) is the object of perception, it is erroneous to raise unnecessary questions such as "Does it relate distinct objects?"; even so when scripture and perception assert the relation of identity (*tādātmya*) of *tat* and *tvam,* such meaningless questions relating to it are knocked down by scripture in the shape of a stick (*daṇḍa*). The scripture which is self-existent (not the work of any person) and which is free from all defects earnestly and repeatedly declares that the finite self and the supreme self are identical in this sense.

ब्रह्मानन्दह्रदान्तस्थो मुक्तात्मा सुखमेधते ।
फले च फलिनोऽभावान्मोक्षस्यापुरुषार्थता ॥
एकशेषे हि चिद्धातोः कस्य मोक्षः फलं भवेत् ।

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किञ्च प्रपञ्चरूपेण का नु संविद्विवर्तते ॥
न तावद्घटधीस्तस्यामसत्यामपि दर्शनात् ।
न हि तस्यामजातायां नष्टायां वाखिलं जगत् ॥
नास्तीति शक्यते वक्तुमुक्तौ प्रत्यक्षबाधनात् ।
नाप्यन्यसंवित्तन्नाशेऽप्यन्येषामुपलम्भनात् ॥
ननु संविदभिन्नैका न तस्यामस्ति भेदधीः ।
घटादयो हि भिद्यन्ते न तु सा चित्प्रकाशनात् ॥
घटधीः पटसंवित्तिसमये नावभाति चेत् ।
नैवं घटो हि नाभाति सा स्फुरत्येव तु स्फुटम् ॥

(That the finite self and Brahman are not absolutely identical, as the opponent believes, and that even in mokṣa the jiva retains its distinctness is shown by the following description:) Dwelling in the depths of *Brahmānubhava*, the released soul experiences illimitable joy.

Since the enjoyer perishes at the time the fruit of his labours is realised, mokṣa would hardly be sought by man. If pure consciousness alone is left over, we ask: For whom is mokṣa?

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Moreover, which consciousness is it that has assumed the form of the world? It could not be the knowledge of the jar; for even in its absence the world is perceived. It is not proper to urge that before this knowledge arises and after it perishes in mokṣa the world does not exist; for this is contradicted by perception. Nor could it be the knowledge of something else; for, after that knowledge perishes, other objects are perceived.

The opponent may say that consciousness is one and indivisible, that there is no apprehension of distinctions within knowledge, for objects such as jars are distinct, while consciousness is not, since it is always present. (We may ask:) In view of the fact that when the cloth is cognised, the jar does not shine forth, how could it be said that knowledge is always present? The opponent may reply that it is only the jar that is not manifest but that knowledge clearly shines forth. To the

घटव्यावृत्तसंवित्तिरथ न स्फुरतीति चेत् ।
तद्व्यावृत्ति(त्त ?)पदेनापि किं सैवोक्ताऽथवेतरत् ॥
सैव चेद्भासतेऽन्यच्चेन्न ब्रूमस्तस्य भासनम् ।
किंचास्याः स्वप्रकाशाया नीरूपाया न हि स्वतः ॥
ऋते विषयनानात्वान्नानात्वावग्रहभ्रमः ।
न वस्तु वस्तुधर्मो वा न प्रत्यक्षो न लैङ्गिकः ॥
घटादिवेद्यभेदोऽपि केवलं भ्रमलक्षणः ।
यदा तदा तदायत्तो धीभेदावग्रहोदयः ॥
कुतः कुतस्तरां तस्य परमार्थत्वसंभवः ।
किंच स्वयंप्रकाशस्य स्वतो वा परतोऽपि वा ॥
प्रागभावादिसिद्धिः स्यात्स्वतस्तावन्न युज्यते ।
स्वस्मिन् सति विरुद्धत्वादभावस्यानवस्थितेः ॥

objection that consciousness does not shine forth as something distinct from jar, the opponent asks what is the precise significance of the expression "something distinct from the jar"? (He goes on to add). If it denotes consciousness, consciousness does shine forth; and if it signifies something else, such an entity is not said to shine. (He continues) moreover consciousness which, in its essential nature, is without a form and which is self-luminous is falsely taken to be manifold for no other reason except the multiplicity of objects known. Distinctions are neither objects themselves nor their attributes; nor are they open to perception and inference. The belief in the multiplicity of objects known, such as the jar, is illusory. Hence, (the opponent asks), how could knowledge become manifold on the basis of phenomenal entities like the jar? And much less could that distinction in knowledge be considered real.

(He goes on to add) Further, self-luminous consciousness has no antecedent non-existence (*prāgabhāva*) (i.e., consciousness is without a beginning and is eternal); (for should the antecedent non-existence of consciousness exist, it must be apprehended by consciousness itself or by some other means; but) the antecedent non-existence of consciousness is not apprehended with the aid of consciousness itself or something else. The first alternative leads to a self-contradictory position; for when consciousness is, its own non-existence cannot be. When consciousness does

स्वनिमित्तप्रकाशस्य स्वस्याभावेऽप्यसंभवात् ।
अनन्यगोचरत्वेन चितो न परतोऽपि च ॥
किंच वेद्यस्य भेदादेर्न चिद्धर्मत्वसंभवः ।
रूपादिवदतः संविदद्वितीया स्वयंप्रभा ॥
अतस्तद्भेदमाश्रित्य यद्विकल्पादिजल्पितम् ॥
तदविद्याविलासोऽयमिति ब्रह्मविदो विदुः ।
हन्त ब्रह्मोपदेशोऽयं श्रद्दधानेषु शोभते ।
वयमश्रद्दधानाः स्मो ये युक्तिं प्रार्थयामहे ॥
प्रतिप्रमातृविषयं परस्परविलक्षणाः ।
अपरोक्षं प्रकाशन्ते सुखदुःखादिवद्धियः ॥
संबन्धिव्यङ्ग्यभेदस्य संयोगेच्छादिकस्य च ।
न हि भेदः स्वतो नास्ति नाप्रत्यक्षश्च संमतः ॥
यदि सर्वगता नित्या संविदेवाभ्युपेयते ।

not exist, a cognition for which it is itself responsible—cannot arise[7]. The second alternative, namely, that the antecedent non-existence of consciousness is proved through some other source fares no better, for consciousness is not the object of anything else. (i.e. Any pramāṇa that is to prove the non-existence of consciousness must first cognize consciousness before it could speak of its non-existence. But consciousness is self-luminous and not the object of anything else).

Besides, since distinction and so forth are knowable, like colour, they cannot be the attributes of consciousness. Hence, consciousness is without a second. It is self-luminous. Therefore, those who know Brahman maintain that the foregoing questions regarding the various alternatives, based as they are on the belief that consciousness is manifold, are all the pranks of ignorance.

To this we reply "Well! all this dogmatic teaching may carry conviction with (blind) believers; we are lacking in such faith and search for logical reasons to convince us. Like pleasure and pain, all items of knowledge concerning various objects and obtained by different persons are directly apprehended as being distinct from one another.[8] Distinction

7. Vide *Atma-siddhi* p. 35.

8. This and the succeeding stanza have been clearly elucidated in *Śrutaprakāśikā*, Jijñāsādhikaraṇa p. 89 (Nirnayasagara Press Edition.)

ततस्सर्वं सदा भायान्न वा किंचित्कदाचन ॥
तदानीं न हि वेद्यस्य सन्निधीतरकारिता ।
व्यवस्था घटते वित्तेर्व्योमवद्वैभवाश्रयात् ॥
नापि कारणभेदेन नित्यायास्तदभावतः ।
न च स्वरूपनानात्वात्तदेकत्वपरिग्रहात् ॥
ततश्च बधिरान्धादेः शब्दादिग्रहणं भवेत् ।
गुरुशिष्यादिभेदश्च निर्निमित्तः प्रसज्यते ॥
ननु नस्संविदो भिन्नं सर्वं नाम न किंचन ।
अतस्सर्वं सदा भायादित्यकाण्डेऽनुयुज्यते ॥
इदमाख्याहि भोः किंनु नीलादिर्न प्रकाशते ॥
प्रकाशमानो नीलादिः संविदो वा न भिद्यते ।

is not denied to conjunction (*śamyoga*), desire (*icchā*) and so forth whose distinction is revealed by the relata. Nor is it admitted that they are not open to perception.[9]

"If consciousness is admitted to be eternal and all-pervasive, then all objects should shine forth at all times or none at all. It would not be appropriate to seek to explain why certain objects alone shine and not others on the basis of the proximity or otherwise of objects known; for, like ether (*ākāśa*), consciousness is admitted to be all-pervasive. Nor could this be explained on the basis of the differences in the causes of knowledge; for knowledge is eternal and has, consequently, no cause. Nor yet could it be explained on the basis of the diversity of knowledge itself; for you advocate the theory that knowledge is single. It would then follow that knowledge of sound and the like would have to arise even in the case of the deaf and the blind. Besides there would be no room for the distinction of teacher and pupil."

The opponent may object and say, "On our theory there is no 'all objects' distinct from consciousness. Hence, there is no propriety in your dogmatic charge that all objects should always be revealed".

To this we reply, "Well, tell me whether the jar and the like do not shine forth (as distinct from consciousness) or whether they appear but are not different from consciousness. If the former, your explanation of

9. Compare *Śatadūṣaṇī*, Samvidadvaitabhaṅgavāda (33).

आदौ प्रतीतिसुभगो निर्वाहो लोकवेदयोः ॥
यतः पदपदार्थादि न किंचिदवभासते ।
द्वितीये संविदोऽद्वैतं व्याहन्येत समीहितम् ॥
यद्ययं विविधाकारप्रपञ्चस्संविदात्मकः ।
साऽपिसंवित्तदात्मेति यतो नाना प्रसज्यते ॥
न चाविद्याविलासत्वाद् भेदाभेदानिरूपणा ।
सा हि न्यायानलस्पृष्टजातुषाभरणायते ॥
तथा हि यद्यविद्येयं विद्याभावात्मिकेष्यते ।
निरुपाख्यस्वभावत्वात्सा न किंचिन्नियच्छति ॥
अर्थान्तरमविद्या चेत्साध्वी भेदानिरूपणा ।
अर्थानर्थान्तरत्वादिविकल्पोऽस्या न युज्यते ॥
विद्यातोऽर्थान्तरं चासाविति सुव्याहृतं वचः ।

worldly and sacred knowledge is attractive indeed.[9] Since, on your theory, neither words nor their meanings shine forth, (it would be impossible to understand the world and much less the teaching of the scripture). If the latter, your view that consciousness is single would be in jeopardy; for, if the world with its manifold forms is consciousness itself, then consciousness too must be equated with the world and would thus come to be manifold.[10]

The opponent may say that since the world is the handiwork of avidyā (which cannot be described as being distinct or non-distinct), there is difficulty in deciding whether it is distinct or non-distinct from consciousness. But this is untenable; for *avidyā* is like a waxen jewel which is in contact with the fire of reasoning. To explain the matter fully.—If *avidyā* is said to be merely the absence of knowledge (i.e., if it is a negative principle) its nature would be indefinable (*nirupākhya-svabhāva*), it cannot be responsible for anything (i.e. for creating the world.)

If *avidyā* is something distinct from *vidyā* (i.e. if it is a positive entity) it would be ludicrous to hold that it is indescribable. (Your) statement that *avidyā* cannot be described as being distinct or non-distinct from *vidyā*, but that it is really an entity different from *vidyā* is indeed a fine piece of reasoning! If you were to urge that even this character

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10. Compare *Prakaraṇapañcikā*, 8.

अथार्थान्तरभावोऽपि तस्यास्ते भ्रान्तिकल्पितः ॥
हन्तैवं सत्यविद्यैव विद्या स्यात्परमार्थतः ।
किंच शुद्धाऽजडा संविदविद्येयं तु नेदृशी ॥
तत्केन हेतुना सेयमन्यैव न निरूप्यते ।
अपिचेयमविद्या ते यदभावादिरूपिणी ॥
सा विद्या किन्नु संवित्तिर्वेद्यं वा वेदिताऽथवा ।
वेद्यत्वे वेदितृत्वे च नास्यास्ताभ्यां निवर्तनम् ।
न हि ज्ञानादृतेऽज्ञानमन्यतस्ते निवर्तते ॥
संविदेवेति चेत्तस्या ननु भावादसंभवः ।
किंचेयं तद्विरुद्धा वा न तस्याः कापि संभवः ॥
यतोऽखिलं जगद्व्याप्तं विद्ययैवाद्वितीयया ।
अभावोऽन्यो विरुद्धो वा संविदोऽपि यदीष्यते ॥
तदानीं संविदद्वैतप्रतिज्ञां दूरतस्त्यज ।
किंचासौ कस्य जीवस्य को जीवो यस्य सेति चेत् ॥
नन्वेवमसमाधानमन्योन्याश्रयणं भवेत् ।

of its being distinct from *vidyā* is illusory, we reply that, if so, *avidyā* itself would in truth be *vidyā*. And we may ask: when consciousness is pure and is not insentient, while *avidyā* is the reverse, why is avidyā not considered to be distinct from vidyā? Is *vidyā*, whose negation is said to be *avidyā*, consciousness itself or the known or the knower? If it is either the known or the knower, *avidyā* cannot be removed by either of these; for *avidyā* (ignorance) cannot be dispelled by anything other than knoweldge. If *vidyā* is knowledge itself, *avidyā* could not possibly exist, since knowledge is eternal.

Further, if *avidyā* is the opposite (contradictory) of *vidyā*, ignorance cannot exist anywhere; for the entire world is pervaded by *vidyā* which is without a second. If *avidyā* is said to be a negative principle, or something other than *vidyā* or something opposed to it, then (you have to abandon the theory that consciousness (*samvit*) is without a second.

Moreover, for whom is this *avidyā*? (You may reply that it is) for the *jīva*. (We ask) who is a jīva? If you were to say the jīva is that to whom avidyā is ascribed, (we reply that) this leads to irreconcilable mutual dependence (*anyonyāśraya*); for there could be no *avidyā*

न ते(तें ?)जीवादविद्या स्यान्न च जीवस्तया विना ॥
न बीजाङ्कुरतुल्यत्वं जीवोत्पत्तेरयोगतः ।
ब्रह्मणश्चेन्न सर्वज्ञं कथं तद्भ्रमीति ते ॥
अविद्याकृतदेहात्मप्रत्ययाधीनता न ते ।
ब्रह्मसर्वज्ञभावस्य तत्स्वाभाविकताश्रुतेः ॥
भेदावभासगर्भत्वादथ सर्वज्ञता मृषा ।
तत एवामृषा कस्मान्न स्याच्छब्दान्तरादिवत् ॥
यथा शब्दान्तराभ्याससंख्याद्याः शास्त्रभेदकाः ।
भेदावभासगर्भाश्च यथार्थास्तादृशो न किम् ॥
सर्वज्ञे नित्यमुक्तेऽपि यद्यज्ञानस्य संभवः ।
तेजसीव तमस्तस्मान्न निवर्तेत केनचित् ॥

in the absence of the *jīva*, and there could be no *jīva* without *avidyā*. It could not be said that this is similar to the relation of seed and sprout; for it is impossible to ascribe origination to the *jīva*.

If *avidyā* is said to relate to Brahman, (we ask) how could the omniscient Being be subject to delusion? The character of being afflicted by the delusion that the body is itself the self—a delusion born of *avidyā*—cannot be attributed to Brahman whom the scripture declares to be omniscient and whose omniscience is said therein to constitute his essential nature.[11]

Should it be urged that, since it implies apprehension of diversity, omniscience must be considered illusory, (we ask the opponent): For the same reason, why should we not treat omniscience, like *śabdāntara*, and so forth, as being other than unreal? Just as *śabdāntara*, *abhyāsa*, *sankhyā*[12] and so on, which imply apprehension of difference and which mark off one *śāstra* from another and are considered real, why should not omniscience be treated likewise (i.e., as real)?[13]

If ignorance were to exist in the omniscient and the eternally free being, even as darkness exists in light, then ignorance could never be removed therefrom by anything whatsoever.

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11. Compare *Śatadūṣaṇī*, vāda 19. The alternative which conceives avidyā as *samsargābhāva* is here criticised.

12. Vide Pūrvā-mīmāṁsā. II. ii sections 1, 2, 7, 8, 9, II. iii. 11.

13. cf. Śrutaprakāśikā, Jijnyāsādhikarṇa—"śāstrabhedahh karmabhedo vā." The Prābhākara view is that the second chapter deals with *Śāstrabheda*; while the Bhāṭṭa theory is that it is devoted to a discussion of *Karmabheda*.

सर्वज्ञत्वादिवचनप्रामाण्यं व्यावहारिकम् ।
तात्त्विकं तु प्रमाणत्वमद्वैतवचसामिति ।
नियामकं न पश्यामो निर्बन्धात्तावकादृते ।
आश्रयप्रतियोगित्वे परस्परविरोधिनी ॥
कथं वैकरसं ब्रह्म सदिति प्रतिपद्यते ।
प्रत्यक्त्वेनाश्रयो ब्रह्मरूपेण प्रतियोगि चेत् ॥
रूपभेदः कुतस्त्योऽयं यद्यविद्याप्रसादजः ।
ननु सापि तदायत्तेत्यन्योन्याश्रयणं पुनः ॥

If it be said that the texts referring to omniscience and other qualities have only relative validity (*vyāvahārikaprāmāṇya*), while those speaking of non-dualism alone haye absolute validity (*tāttvika-prāmāṇya*) we reply that for such a distinction there is no other basis excepting your own dogmatic assertion.

(If *avidyā* is treated as the mutual non-existence of *jñāna* (knowledge) it will have *vidyā* for its *pratiyogin* (that which is denied) and Brahman for its *āśraya* (support); and since *jñāna* (knowledge, *samvit*) is identified with Brahman itself, your position really amounts to this, that Brahman is at once the *āśraya* and the *pratiyogin* of *avidyā*. Against such a position we ask:) How can Brahman which is through and through of the same nature and which is the Highest Reality possess the two mutually opposed qualities of being the *āśraya* (basis) and the *pratiyogin* (what is denied) of *avidyā*?[14] If the opponent were to reply that, in its aspect as the jīva (*pratyak*), Brahman is the basis of *avidyā*, and that in its essential nature it is the *pratiyogin*, (we ask) whence these two aspects? To the possible answer that this distinction of aspects is the result of avidyā, we reply that, since *avidyā*, in its turn, depends on this distinction, your position is once again liable to be charged with the defect of mutual dependence (i.e. the fallacy of mutual dependence vitiates both the alternatives viz., that avidya relates to the jīva and that it relates to Brahman).

14. cf. *Śatadūṣaṇī* vāda 19. Here the view that treats avidyā as anyonyābhāva (mutual non-existence of knowledge) is critically considered.

अवस्तुत्वादविद्यायाः....(नैतत्तद्दूषणं यदि ?) ।
वस्तुनो दूषणत्वेन त्वया क्वेदन्निरीक्षितम् ॥
*उ....(स्वसाध्यसिद्धव ?)त्काराद्दोषोऽन्योन्यसमाश्रयः ।
न वस्तुत्वादवस्तुत्वादित्यतो नेदमुत्तरम् ॥
किंचाविद्या न चेद्व....(स्तु व्यवहारः कुतस्त्वयम् ?) ।
....(नचैष व्योम ?) पुष्पादिव्यवहारवदिष्यते ।
नाप्यवस्त्विति चो....(क्तिस्ते वस्तुतां तत्र साधयेत् ?) ॥
....(निषिध्यते ?) समस्तेन नञा वस्त्विति चेत्....(न तत् ?) ।
समस्तेन नञा वस्तु प्रथमं यन्निषिध्यते ।
प्रतिप्रसूतं व्यस्तेन पुनस्तदिति वस्तुता ॥
अतो न वस्तु ना .... (नावस्तु या विद्या तद्बले सति) ।
न न(भेदो न ?)कश्चकास्तीति विवक्षिर्या(क्षीर्मा ?)स्म जातुचित् ।

Should the opponent contend that his position really escapes the defect of mutual dependence (*anyonyāśraya*) in as much as *avidyā* is an unreality (*avastu*) we ask: Then in which entity (*vastu*) do you notice *anyonyāśraya*) to be a vitiating factor? (i.e. one who rejects everything other than Brahman as illusory cannot cite an object (*vastu*) where this defect is met with). The character of being a *vatsu* is not responsible for the charge of *anyonyāśraya* being levelled; but when a thing is said to depend for its very existence on its own product, this defect arises. Therefore, it is no proper reply to urge that since *avidyā* is an unreality your position is not open to the charge of *anyonyāśraya*.

Moreover, if avidyā is wholly unreal (avastu), we ask: How then does it come to be responsible for worldly activities (*vyavahāra*)? Wholly fictitious entities like the sky-flower are never noticed to serve the ends of practical life (*arthakriyākāri*). And your very statement that *avidyā* is a fiction hardly establishes that it is fictitious. If the opponent were to argue that reality is denied to avidyā by the negative particle found in compound word *'a-vastu'*, we reply that the negation is negated when single, uncompounded words (*vyasta*) like 'jar' and 'cloth' are used to refer to the world which is the handiwork of *avidyā*. Therefore, the opponent must not think of saying that *avidyā* is neither real nor unreal and that, while distinctions are unreal, they appear to be real on the strength of *avidyā*.

किंच प्रपञ्चनिर्वाहजननी येयमाश्रिता ॥
अविद्या सा किमेकैव नैका वा तदिदं वद ॥
तदाश्रयश्च संसारी तथैको नैक एव वा ।
सा चेदेका ततस्सैका शुकस्य ब्रह्मविद्यया ॥
पूर्वमेव निरस्तेति व्यर्थस्ते मुक्तये श्रमः ।
स्यान्मतं नैव ते सन्ति वामदेवशुकादयः ॥
यद्विद्यया निरस्तत्वान्नाद्याविद्येति चोद्यते ।
मुक्तामुक्तादिभेदो हि कल्पितो मदविद्यया ॥
दृश्यत्वान्मामकस्वप्नदृश्यभेदप्रपञ्चवत् ।
यत्पुनर्ब्रह्मविद्यातस्तेषां मुक्तिरभूदिति ॥
वाक्यं तत्स्वप्नमुक्त्युक्तियुक्त्या प्रत्यूह(ह्य ?)तामिति ।
नन्वीदृशानुमानेन स्वाविद्यापरिकल्पितम् ॥
प्रपञ्चं साधयत्य (न्न ?) न्यः कथं प्रत्युच्यते त्वया ।

State wehther the *avidyā* posited by you as generating and explaining the world-process is single or manifold. State also whether its substrate, viz., the soul in bondage is only one or many. If avidya is *single*, this unitary ignorance, having already been expelled by the realisation of Brahman attained by Śuka, your effort to secure final release (*mokṣa*) would indeed be wholly unnecessary.

It may be argued (by you as follows—) "In reality there never existed persons such as Vāmadeva and Śuka; it is only if they existed, it could be argued that *avidyā*, having already been dispelled by their realising Brahman, does not exist at present. Distinctions such as "released souls" and "souls in bondage" are projected by my ignorance; for they are perceived, like the world of multiplicity cognised in my dreams. The scriptural text, asserting that final release was attained by them (i.e., Vāmadeva and others) as a result of the realisation of Brahman, is as invalid as dream utterances concerning *mukti*".

We may meet this line of argument thus—How is another person who contends that the world is projected by his *avidyā* refuted by you?

त्वदविद्यानिमित्तत्वे यो हेतुस्ते विवक्षितः ॥
स एव हेतुस्तस्यापि भवेत्सर्वज्ञसिद्धिवत् ।
इत्यन्योन्यविरुद्धोक्तिव्याहते भवतां मते ॥
मुखमस्तीति यत्किंचित् प्रलपन्निव लक्ष्यसे ।
यथा च स्वाप्नमुक्त्युक्तिसदृशी तद्विमुक्तिगीः ॥
तथैव भवतोऽपीति व्यर्थो मोक्षाय ते श्रमः ।
यथा तेषामभूतैव पुरस्तादात्मविद्यया ॥
मुक्तिर्भूतोच्यते तद्वत्परस्तादात्मविद्यया ।
अभाविन्येव सा मिथ्या भाविनीत्यपदिश्यताम् ।
सन्ति च स्वप्नदृष्टानि दृष्टान्तवचनानि ते ॥
ननु नेदमनिष्टं मे यन्मुक्तिर्न भविष्यति ।
आत्मनो नित्यमुक्तत्वान्नित्यसिद्धैव सा यतः ।

The self-same reason which you advance to prove that the universe is projected by your avidyā is also open to him like *sarvajnasiddhi* (i.e. even as the claim that the Buddha is omniscient can also be made on behalf of Kapila).

As your doctrine is thus torn by mutually contradictory assertions, you seem to argue not because you have a case, but because you must be saying something. Just as the statements relating to their (i.e., Vāmadeva and others) release are no better than dream utterances, your propositions also (viz. that the world is a creation of your *avidyā* and that you must, therefore, endeavour to get rid of it) must share the same fate. Hence, your effort to secure *mokṣa* must indeed be futile. Again, if you could maintain that the scriptural passage mentions that, as a result of *Brahma-jñāna*, mukti was attained by Vāmadeva and others even when it was not attained, we might equally well say that your statement also speaks falsely of mukti as realisable in the future, when, in fact, it is not to be realised. The very examples you adduced, namely, utterances found in dreams, could be cited in support of the opposite contention.

(Perhaps your reply is.—) "Such a position, viz. that *mukti* is not something to be realised in future is not unaccepatble to me, because the self is eternally free from bondage and because freedom is ever existent."

तदिदं शान्तिकर्मादौ वेतालावाहनं भवेत् ।
येनैवं सुतरां व्यर्थो ब्रह्मविद्यार्जनश्रमः ।
अविद्याप्रतिबद्धत्वादथ सा नित्यसत्यपि ॥
असतीवेति तद्व्यक्तिर्विद्याफलमुपेयते ।
हस्तस्थमेव हेमादि विस्मृतं मृग्यते यथा ॥
यथा तदेव हस्तस्थमवगम्योपशाम्यति ।
तथैव नित्यमुक्तात्मस्वरूपानवबोधतः ॥
संसारिणस्तथाभावो व्यज्यते ब्रह्मविद्यया ।
हन्त केयमभिव्यक्तिर्या विद्याफलमिष्यते ॥
स्वप्रकाशस्य चिद्धातोर्या स्वरूपपदे स्थिता ।
संवित्किं सैव किं वाऽहं ब्रह्मास्मीतीति कीदृशी ।
यदि स्वरूपसंवित्सा नित्यैवेति न तत्फलम् ॥
अथ ब्रह्माहमस्मीति संवित्तिर्व्यक्तिरिष्यते ।

Against this it may be urged that since, on this view, all efforts to secure *Brahma-vidyā* are wholly superfluous, your position amounts to invoking in ceremonies just those devils which are intended to be exorcised by them.

The opponent may contend that, although *mokṣa* is an eternal state, it is obscured by ignorance and appears, on that account, to be non-existent; and (he may add) that the fruit of knowledge is the manifestation of mokṣa (which has so far remained concealed). The presence of gold on the hand being forgotten, it is searched for; and after realising that it has all the while been on his hand, a person rests content. Even so, it is because of the failure to realise the true nature of the self which is ever free, that bondage is caused to the *samsārin*, and the nature of the self is manifested by knowledge of Brahman.

Our reply to this is.—Tell me what is meant by manifestation" (*abhivyakti*) which is said to result from the knowledge of Brahman. Is it consciousness which is the very essence of self-luminous intelligence? Or is it the knowledge "I am Brahman"? It cannot be the first; for consciousness which constitutes the very essence of Brahman, being eternal, cannot be the result of Brahma-vidyā. Nor could it be said that "manifestation" is merely the knowledge "I am Brahman"; for, on your theory,

ननु ते ब्रह्मविद्या सा सैव तस्याः फलं कथम् ॥
किंच सा तत्त्वमस्यादिवाक्यजन्या भवन्मते ।
उत्पत्तिमत्यनित्येति मुक्तस्यापि भयं भवेत् ।
अपि च व्यवहारज्ञाः सति पुष्कलकारणे ।
कार्यं न जायते येन तमाहुः प्रतिबन्धकम् ।
इह किं तद्यदुत्पत्तुमुपक्रान्तं स्वहेतुतः ॥
अविद्याप्रतिबद्धत्वादुत्पत्तिं न प्रपद्यते ।
न मुक्तिर्नित्यसिद्धत्वान्न ब्रह्मास्मीति धीरपि ॥
न हि ब्रह्माहमस्मीति संवित्पुष्कलकारणम् ।
संसारिणस्तदाऽस्तीति कथं सा प्रतिबध्यते ॥
यतस्सा कारणाभावादिदानीं नोपजायते ।
न पुनः प्रतिबद्धत्वादस्थाने तेन तद्वचः ।
किंचैको जीव इत्येतद्वस्तुस्थित्या न युज्यते ।

such a knowledge is itself *Brahma-vidyā*. And how, we ask, could it be treated as the result of the latter?

Moreover, on your view, this knowledge arises from upaniṣadic texts such as 'That thou art' (tat tvam asi). And, on the principle that whatever has a beginning must have an end, the fear (that *mokṣa* may be lost at any time) may afflict even the released soul.

Besides the wise have defined *pratibandhaka* (obstacle) as that which prevents the appearance of the effect even in the presence of all the causal factors necesssary therefor. In the present case, what was it that was ready to emerge through the operation of its causal factors but failed to appear being prevented by the obstacle of ignorance (*avidyā*)? It cannot be *mukti;* for it is ever-existent. Nor could it be the knowledge "I am Brahman"; for, in the case of souls in bondage, the full complement of causes necessary for the birth of the apprehension "I am Brahman" not being present, how could it be said that this knowledge is counteracted by *avidyā*? As a matter of fact, this knowledge does not arise at present, not because it is prevented by counter-acting forces, but because of the absence of causal factors. Hence your position is beside the point.

Further the belief that there is only—a single soul (in the universe) is really unacceptable;[15] for, on your view, ignorance (*avidyā*),

15. cf. *Śatadūṣaṇī,* vāda 61.

अविद्यातत्समाश्लेषजीवत्वादि मृषा हि ते ।
प्रातिभासिकमेकत्वं प्रतिभासपराहतम् ।
यतो नः प्रतिभासन्ते संसरन्तस्सहस्रशः ।
आसंसारसमुच्छेदं व्यवहाराश्च तत्कृताः ॥
अबाधिताः प्रतीयन्ते स्वप्नवृत्तविलक्षणाः ।
तेन यौक्तिकमेकत्वमपि युक्तिपराहतम् ।
प्रवृत्तिभेदानुमिता विरुद्धमितिवृत्तयः ॥
तत्तत्स्वात्मवदन्येऽपि देहिनोऽशक्यनिह्नवाः ।
यथानुमेयाद्वह्न्यादेरनुमानविलक्षणाः ॥
प्रत्यक्षं(क्ष्यं ?)ते तथाऽन्येभ्यो जीवेभ्यो न पृथक् कथम् ।
न चेच्चेष्टाविशेषेण परो बोद्धानुमीयते ॥
व्यवहारोऽवलुप्येत सर्वो लौकिकवैदिकः ।

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association therewith and the character of being *jīva* are only illusory (i.e., when the very notion of *jīva* is deemed illusory, its being single must be equally so).

The suggestion that the *jīva* is one, since it appears to be so, is contradicted by experience, for souls bound to *samsāra* do appear to us to be innumerable. The activities in which bound souls are engaged till the cessation of the cycle of births and deaths are not later shown to be false and are thoroughly unlike dream experiences. The singleness of the self sought to be established by reasoning could be disproved by reasoning iteslf.

Other souls which possess conflicting thoughts and activities and whose existence is inferred from their diverse behaviour cannot be argued away any more than each person could explain away his own existence. The fire whose existence is inferred is certainly different from observed instances of fire. Similarly where is the difficulty in considering that the souls whose existence is inferred from the behaviour of others are distinct from the self of which each person is directly aware? If it is not conceded that the presence of other selves is inferred from their behaviour, all activities, sacred and secular, would cease.

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नचौपाधिकभेदेन मेयमातृविभागधीः ।
स्वशरीरेऽपि तत्प्राप्तेः शिरःपाण्यादिभेदतः ॥
यथा तत्र शिरःपाणिपादादौ वेदनोदये ।
अनुसंधानमेकत्वे तथा सर्वत्र ते भवेत् ॥
प्रायणान्न(न्ना ?)रकक्लेशात्प्रसूतिव्यसनादपि ।
चिरातिवृत्ताः प्राग्जन्मभोगा न स्मृतिगोचराः ॥
युगपज्जायमानेषु....(मिथो ह्यस्मरणात्स्थितः ?) ।
आश्रयासङ्करस्तत्र कथमैकात्म्यविभ्रमः ॥

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It is futile to contend that the distinction of consciousness into 'knower' and 'known' is due to manifold limiting conditions. For (if that were so), the distinction between the various parts of the body such as the head and hands must lead to a belief in a plurality of selves within the selfsame body. Besides, if there be only one soul (in the universe), it must experience what is happening in all places, just as the injury to the head, hands or feet is felt by the organism.

(On the basis of the observed fact that the soul does not remember its own experiences in former lives, the opponent may assert that it is unnecessary for the self to know what is happening elsewhere. To this we reply that) self does not remember its experiences which took place in the remote past in former lives because of factors, such as death, torment in hell and birth-pangs. But as regards what takes place simultaneously (there being no remembrance), the substates of these experiences cannot be mixed up. How then could the delusion that there is only one soul arise?

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न च प्रातिस्विकाविद्याकल्पितस्वस्वदृश्यकैः ॥
जीवैरनेकैरप्येषा लोकयात्रोपपद्यते ।
परवार्तानभिज्ञास्ते स्वस्वस्वप्नैकदर्शिनः ॥
कथं प्रवर्तयेयुस्तां सङ्घाद्येकनिबन्धनाम् ।

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किं च स्वयंप्रकाशत्वविभुत्वैकत्वनित्यताः ।
त्वदभ्युपेता बाधेरन् संविदस्तेऽद्वितीयताम् ।
संविदेव न ते धर्माः सिद्धायामपि संविदि ।
विवाददर्शनात्तेषु तद्रूपाणां च भेदतः (भिन्नता ?) ।
न च ते भ्रान्तिसिद्धास्ते येनाद्वैताविरोधिनः ॥
तत्त्वावेदकवेदान्तवाक्यसिद्धा हि ते गुणाः ।

It cannot be maintained that social activities can be explained on the the basis of a plurality of souls each of which creates, with the aid of its individual avidyā, objects perceptible only to itself. How could *jīvas*, who are severally confined within their own dream creations and who are totally ignorant of the activities of others, carry on worldly activity which is possible only to a group of persons interacting with one another?

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Self-luminosity, unity, all-pervasiveness and eternity posited by you as the characteristics of consciousness really contradict your thesis that consciousness is without a second (*advitīya*). It is idle to argue that these are not the characteristics of consciousness, but that they constitute its very being; these features of consciousness namely, self-luminosity, unity and the like are distinct from one another; besides, while the existence of consciousness is accepted on all hands, keen controversy rages regarding its nature (or characteristics). It cannot be urged that these are illusory and, hence, do not contradict the theory of non-dualism. For these qualities are learnt from upaniṣadic texts which aim at revealing the true nature of reality.

आनन्दस्वप्रकाशत्वनित्यत्वमहिमाद्यथ ॥
ब्रह्मस्वरूपमेवेष्टं तत्रापीदं विविच्यताम् ।
ब्रह्मेति यावन्निर्दिष्टं तन्मात्रं किं सुखादयः ॥
अथवा तस्य ते यद्वा त एव ब्रह्मसंज्ञिनः ।
आद्ये तत्तत्पदाम्नानवैयर्थ्यं वेदलोकयोः ॥
पूर्वोक्तनीत्या भेदश्च जगज्जन्मादिकारणम् ।
अभ्युपेत्यैव हि ब्रह्म विवादास्तेषु वादिनाम् ॥
द्वितीये सैव तैरेव ब्रह्मणस्सद्वितीयता ।
तृतीये ब्रह्म भिद्येत तन्मात्रत्वात्पदे पदे ॥
तत्समूहोऽथवा ब्रह्म तरुवृन्दविनाश(वनादि ?)वत् ।

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If, as you say, bliss, self-luminosity, eternity, greatness and the like are really the essence of Brahman (and not its qualities), let this position be clarified by you. (You must say that) terms such as 'bliss' either stand exactly for what the word Brahman signifies or that what are signified by them belong to him (i.e., they are its attributes); or they alone go by the name of Brahman.

(None of these alternatives is tenable; for) on the first alternative, there would be no need to employ these different expressions in daily life and in scriptures (the term Brahman being quite sufficient). Besides, as already pointed out, while Brahman is posited as the cause of the world, rival philosophers dispute its nature; hence, they (i.e., Brahman, bliss and so forth) must be distinct. The second alternative is scarcely better; for with these for its qualities, Brahman would certainly come to be regarded as having distinctions. On the third alternative, since each of these (i.e., bliss and the like) is itself Brahman, there would be a plurality of Brahmans. To obviate this difficutly, it might be said that all these together constitute Brahman even as a collection of trees constitutes a forest. (But even this would fare no better, because, on your theory, Brahman is a partless whole of reality).

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प्रकर्षश्च प्रकाशश्च भिन्नावेवार्कवर्तिनौ ।
तेन न क्वापि वाक्यार्थाविभागेऽस्ति निदर्शनम् ॥
जाड्यदुःखाद्यपोहेन यद्येकत्रैव वर्तिता ।
ज्ञानानन्दादिशब्दानां न सतस्सद्वितीयता ॥
अपोहाः किं न सन्त्येव सन्तो वा नोभयेऽपि वा ।
सत्त्वे सतस्सद्वितीयं स्याज्जडाद्यात्मकतेतरे(स्यादसत्त्वे तु जडात्मता ?) ॥
सदसद्व्यतिरेकोक्तिः पूर्वमेव पराकृता ।
तथात्वे च घटादिभ्यो ब्रह्मापि न विशिष्यते ।
किंचापोह्यजडत्वादिविरुद्धार्थासमर्पणे ॥
नैव तत्तदपोह्येत तदेकार्थैः पदैरिव ।

(It is unreasonable to argue that these descriptions really teach a partless whole of meaning (*akhandārtha*), just as the statement "The sun is resplendent and luminous" denotes a single, partless reality). For the luminosity and splendour existing in the sun are really different; and you cannot cite anywhere an instance in support of your contention that a partless whole of meaning is conveyed by the text.[16]

It may be urged that, since the terms *jñāna, ānanda* and the like merely refer to the absence of non-intelligence, suffering and so forth, and thereby denote only a unitary entity, Brahman could not be said to be possessed of distinctions. But this is futile; for this absence must be either real or unreal or neither real nor unreal. (None of these is acceptable, for) the first alternative would imply that Brahman is endowed with distinctions. On the second alternative, it would follow that Brahman is non-intelligent. And the third alternative has already been refuted. Besides, on that view, Brahman would scarcely be different from objects like the jar. Moreover, so long as the terms *jñāna, ānanda* and the like are not taken to signify the features opposed to non-intelligence and the like which are said to be excluded they could not really be said to have been eliminated; even as terms signifying the character of non-intelligence (*jadatva*) are incapable of denying these qualities. (Taking his stand on the view that

16. cf. *Śatadūṣaṇī*, vāda 38.

प्रतियोगिनि दृश्ये तु या भावान्तरमात्रधीः ॥
सैवाभाव इतीहापि सद्धिस्ते सद्वितीयता ।
भूतभौतिकभेदानां सदसद्व्यतिरेकिता ॥
कुतोऽवसीयते किन्नु प्रत्यक्षादेरुतागमात् ॥
प्रत्यक्षादीनि मानानि स्वं स्वमर्थं यथायथम् ।
व्यवच्छिन्दन्ति जायन्ते इति यावत्स्वसाक्षिकम् ।
यथाग्रतस्स्थिते नीले नीलिमान्यकथा न धीः ॥
एकाकारा न हि तथा स्फटिके धवले मतिः ।
क्षीरे मधुरधीर्यादृक् नैवं निम्बकषायधीः ॥
व्यवहाराश्च नियताः सर्वे लौकिकवैदिकाः ।
सत्यं प्रतीतिरस्त्यस्या मूलं नास्तीति चेन्न तत् ॥
सा चेदस्ति तया मूलं कल्प्यतां कार्यभूतया ।
क्लृप्तञ्चेन्द्रियलिङ्गादि तद्भावानुविधानतः ॥

negation is merely the perception of an object when some other perceptible entity is not cognized (e.g. the negation of the jar is no other than the perception of the bare ground) the opponent may argue that Brahman is non-dual, since the absence of non-intelligence is no other than knowledge of pure Brahman, and not an attribute thereof. But even then it would follow that Brahman has distinctions (since knowledge of Brahman will not convey the idea of the absence of nonintelligence, sorrow and the like so long as intelligence, bliss and the like are not attributed to it).

Is it perception and the like or scripture that establishes the theory that the elements and what is born of them are distinct at once from reality and unreality? Each one knows for himself that perception and other pramāṇas reveal their respective objects as something specific. The cognition of a blue flower in front of the perceiver is not of the same form as that of a white crystal. The apprehension of milk as something sweet is not of the same kind as that of morgosa as something bitter. Thus, all items of knowledge, sacred and secular, are marked off from one another.

(The opponent may argue as follows.) "True, distinct cognitions do arise; but they have no basis in fact." (To this it may be replied that) if the presence of varied cognitions is admitted, the cause of these must be ascertained. And the senses and reason are their well-known causes; for these cognitions arise whenever they are present.

यौगपद्यक्रमायोगाद्व्यवच्छेदविधानयोः ।
ऐक्यायोगाच्च भेदो न प्रत्यक्ष इति यो भ्रमः ॥
भेदेतरेतराभावधीवेगा(विवेका ?)ग्रहणेन सः ।
स्वरूपमेव भावानां प्रत्यक्षेण परिस्फुरत् ॥
भेदव्याहारहेतुः स्यात्प्रतियोगिन्यपेक्षया ।

The opponent may hold the erroneous view that distinction (*bheda*) cannot be the object of perception, since the object itself (*svarūpa*) and its distinction from other things (*bheda*) cannot be apprehended either simultaneously or in succession, and since these two apprehensions are not identical.[17] This false view is due to his failure to realise that *svarūpa* and *bheda* are non-different.

In the light of the *pratiyogin* (that which is denied), the object itself which is revealed by perception is responsibile for the apprehension and

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17. Akhaṇḍavākyārthabhaṅgavāda.

17. Those who do not subscribe to the notion of difference (*bheda*) may argue as follows.—"Whoever accepts the notion of difference believes that it is open to perception. Let him state clearly whether the apprehension of an object itself (*svarūpa-grahaṇa*) and the apprehension of its distinction from other objects (*bheda-grahaṇa*), which are both the result of perception, are identical with or different from each other. If they are distinct, it may be asked, does perception grasp an object or its distinction from others or both these? If perception is said to grasp both, there is the further question: Are both these grasped simultaneously or in succession? *Svarūpagrahaṇa* and *bhedagrahaṇa* cannot be identified as one; for to treat them as identical would amount to attributing to the self-same experience the contradictory qualities of not depending on a *pratiyogin* (in the case of *svarūpagrahaṇa*) and depending upon the *pratiyogin* (in the case of *bhedagrahaṇa*). It is equally difficult to treat them as distinct; for, if perception were to grasp the object (*svarūpa*) only, clearly it cannot apprehend *bheda*. And perception cannot grasp difference only; since the cognition of difference presupposes apprehension of *svarūpa*. Nor is the view that perception apprehends both *svarūpa* and *bheda* tenable; for this apprehension must be either simultaneous or successive. But it cannot be simultaneous, since knowledge of difference presupposes cognition of *svarūpa* and remembrance of *pratiyogin*; while *svarūpagrahana* does not stand in need of any of these. Nor could *svarūpa* and *bheda* be grasped in succession; since perception is momentary and cannot last until the experience of *bheda* which occurs only at the next moment.

Vide *Prameyamālā* of Vātsya Varadaguru, Annamalai University Journal.

यथा तन्मात्रधीर्नाना नास्तिव्याहारसाधनी ॥
ह्रस्वदीर्घत्वभेदा वा यथैकत्र षडङ्गुले ।
एवं व्यवस्थितानेकप्रकाराकारवत्तया ॥
प्रत्यक्षस्य प्रपञ्चस्य सद्भावोऽशक्यनिह्नवः ॥

* * *

आगमः कार्यनिष्ठत्वादीदृशेऽर्थे न तु प्रमा ॥
प्रामाण्येऽप्यन्वयायोग्यपदार्थत्वान्न बोधकः ।
नासत्प्रतीतेर्बाधाच्च न सदित्यपि यन्न तत् ॥
प्रतीतेरेव सत्किन्न बाधान्नासत्कुतो जगत् ।
तस्मादविद्ययैवेयमविद्या भवताऽऽश्रिता ॥

belief in multiplicity (*bheda-vyavahāra*); just as the knowledge of an object in itself leads to manifold negations and just as an object six inches long may (in the light of objects longer or shorter than this) be considered short or long.

Thus the character of possessing distinctions cannot be denied to the world since it is perceived to possess diverse well-defined shapes and forms.

* * * *

(Having shown that perception does not establish that the world is sadasadvilakṣaṇa the author proceeds to show that scripture also fails to establish that point).

Since the scripture speaks of what has to be accomplished (*kārya*), it cannot be considered an authority in this matter (i.e., with regard to matters of fact, namely, *siddha*). Even if it be considered authoritative in this regard it cannot be said to teach this unintelligible doctrine; for the different elements of your doctrine do not fit in with one another.

(Here it is shown that inference too fails to establish that the world is indescribable as *sat* or *asat*).

It is argued that *avidyā* and its products cannot be described as unreal (*asat*), since they are perceived and that it is equally difficult to define them as real (*sat*), since they are later contradicted. But this does not stand to reason; for (it may well be asked) why should not the world be treated as real (*sat*), since it is perceived, and as unreal (*asat*), since it is later contradicted? Hence it is clear that this notion of *avidyā* (ignorance) is posited by you in ignorance.

किंच भेदप्रपञ्चस्य धर्मो मिथ्यात्वलक्षणः ।
मिथ्या वा परमार्थो वा नाद्यः कल्पोऽयमञ्जसा ॥
तन्मिथ्यात्वे प्रपञ्चस्य सत्यत्वं दुरपह्नवम् ।
पारमार्थ्येऽपि तेनैव तवाद्वैतं विहन्यते ॥
सर्वाण्येव प्रमाणानि स्वंस्वमर्थं यथोदितम् ।
असतोऽर्थान्तरेभ्यश्च व्यवच्छिन्दन्ति भान्ति नः ।
तथाहीह घटोऽस्तीति येयं धीरुपजायते ॥
सा तदा तस्य नाभावं पटत्वं वाऽनुमन्यते ।
नन्वस्तीति यदुक्तं किं तन्मात्रं घट इत्यपि ।
अर्थान्तरं वा तन्मात्रे सदद्वैतं प्रसज्यते ।
अर्थान्तरत्वे सिद्धं तत्सदसद्भ्यां विलक्षणम् ॥

Is the character of unreality (*mithyātva*) attributed by you to the world of multiplicity unreal or real? It cannot be the former; because if the unreality of the world is itself phenomenal, then the reality of the world becomes irrefutable. It cannot be the latter, because if mithyātva were real then your theory of non-dualism would have to be given up. As already pointed out, all pramāṇas are known to us as marking off their respective objects from their opposites (*asat*) and from their distincts (*arthāntara*). For example, when there arises the awareness, "The jar exists," it rules out the assertion of the non-existence of the jar or of the attribution of clothness to the jar.

The opponent may try to meet this by arguing as follows.—"In the cognition 'The jar exists', the word 'jar' conveys either the same meaning as 'existence' (Brahman) or something else. If it is the former, it would follow that reality is non-dual; (because other propositions little this. 'the cloth exists'. "tree exists" and so on will convey the same idea, viz., existence); if it is the latter what is signified by the term 'jar' must be incapable of being defined either as *sat* or *asat* (*sadasadanirvacanīya*), (because the term *ghaṭa* would then imply something distinct from existence (*sadvilakṣaṇa*) and would at the same time be (asadvilakṣṇa) something positive.

यद्येवमस्ति ब्रह्मेति ब्रह्मौपनिषदं मतम् ।
घटवत्सदसत्त्वाभ्यामनिर्वाच्यं तवापतेत् ।
आनन्दसत्यज्ञानादिनिर्देशैरेव वैदिकैः ।
ब्रह्मणोऽप्यतथाभावस्त्वयैवैवं समर्थितः ॥
सदसद्व्यतिरेकोक्तिः प्रपञ्चस्य च हीयते ।
यद्यथा किंचिदुच्येत तत्सर्वस्य तथा भवेत् ॥
तस्मादस्तीति संवित्तिर्जायमाना घटादिषु ।
तत्तत्पदार्थसंस्थानपारमार्थ्यावबोधिनी ॥
सजातीयविजातीयव्यवच्छेदनिबन्धनैः ।
स्वैःस्वैर्व्यवस्थितै रूपैः पदार्थानां तु या स्थितिः ॥
सा सत्ता न स्वतन्त्राऽन्या तत्राद्वैतकथा कथम् ।
नच नानाविधाकारप्रतीतिश्शक्यनिह्नवा ॥

To this we reply that, if so, you would have to admit that Brahman also, like the jar, is indescribable as *sat* or *asat;* for the cardinal teaching of the upaniṣads is "Brahman exists" (asti Brahman). And you yourself have established, with the aid of vedic texts speaking of Brahman being bliss (*ānanda*), reality (*sat*), and knowledge (*jñāna*), that Brahman is distinct from bliss and the like. (Logically, in your statement The world is *sadasadanirvacanīya*' the term "world" must signify something different from indescribable as sat or asat). Therefore, it is impossible for you to speak of the world as being distinct from reality and unreality. What is said of one instance should apply to all identical or parallel instances.

The knowledge of *sattā* (existence) arising in the case of objects like the jar does reveal the reality of diverse configurations of objects.

Existence (*sattā*) is no other than the continuity of objects along with their specific and well-defined forms or configurations which are responsible for their distinction from smilar (*sajātīya*) as also from dissimilar (*vijātīya*) objects, (i.e. from objects of the same class as also from those belonging to other classes). And it (*sattā*) is no independent entity. How, then, is it at all possible to speak of non-dualism? It is impossible to deny the apprehension of diverse configurations.

न वेद्यं वित्तिधर्मस्स्यादिति यत्प्रागुदीरितम् ।
तेनापि साधितं किञ्चित्संविदोऽस्ति नवा त्वया ॥
अस्ति चेत्पक्षबाध(पात ?)स्स्यान्न चेत्ते विफलश्श्रमः ।
अतस्स्वरसविस्पष्टदृष्टभेदास्तु संविदः ।
यथास्था(रथा)दिभिर्वा .... ह्यैनैक्यं याति घटादिभिः ।
(यथावत्स्थायिभिर्ह्यैनैक्यं यान्ति घटादिभिः ?) ।
सहोपलम्भनियमान्नान्योऽर्थस्संविदो भवेत् ।
यदेतदपराधीनस्वप्रकाशं तदेव हि ।
स्वयंप्रकाशता शब्दमिति (स्वयंप्रकाशशब्दार्थ इति ?)वृद्धाः प्रचक्षते ।
यस्मिन्नभासमाने हि यो नामार्थो न भासते ।
नासावर्थान्तरस्त(रं त ?)स्मान्मिथ्येन्दुरिव चन्द्रतः ।

As regards your statement: 'What is known (i.e. *sattā*) cannot be an attribute of knowledge (Brahman), (we ask:) From this statement is anything established regarding *samvit* (consciousness) or not? If it is the former, your doctrine of non-dualism would have to be sacrificed;[18] if it is the latter, your effort is wholly wasted.

Therefore, various cognitions which are clearly and readily known to be distinct from one another cannot be identified with objects like the jar which endure (i.e., are not momentary like cognitions).

The opponent may argue that objects are not distinct from knowledge, since they are invariably cognized together. The wise declare that the term self-luminous (*swayamprākāśa*) denotes that which is able to manifest itself without depending on anything else. That object which remains unmanifest so long as another does not present itself cannot be considered to be distinct therefrom; just as the falseby perceived double moon is non-different from the real moon.[19] When know-

18. A variant reading is 'pakṣapāta'. On this reading the text would mean—"If the former, you must be considered partial (in as much as you attribute *nirdharmakatva* (the character of having no qualities) to Brahman, while denying all other attributes even when they are established by various pramāṇas). cf *Śrutaprakāśikā*.

19. cf. Sahopalambhaniyamādabhedo nīladaddhiyoh |
Bhedaś ca bhrānti vijñanai dṛśya indāvivādvaye ||

अभासमाने विज्ञाने नचात्मार्थावभासनम् ।
इति संविद्विवर्तत्वं प्रपञ्चः स्फुटमश्नुति ।
.... मैवं .... परिभवः(मा नामैवं भवान्ब्रूतात् ?)प्रत्यक्षेण बलीयसा ।
संरक्ष्यमाणभेदास्ते नानुमानानुवर्तिनः ।
तथाहीदमहं वेद्मीत्यन्योन्यानात्मना स्फुटम् ।
त्रयं साक्षाच्चकास्तीति सर्वेषामात्मसाक्षिकम् ।
प्रत्यक्षप्रतिपक्षं च नानुमानं प्रवर्तते ।
न हि वह्नेरनुष्णत्वं द्रव्यत्वादनुमीयते ।
किञ्च हेतुर्विरुद्धोऽयं सहभावो द्वयोर्यतः ।
तवा हि नत् हि (तथाहि नहि ?) संविचिस्स्वात्मना सह भासते ।
[20]सहोपलम्भनियमो न खल्वेकैकसंविदा ।
न चेदस्ति ससामान्यं सर्वं संवेदनास्पदम् ।

ledge (*vijñāna*) is not manifest neither the self nor the object is revealed. Therefore, the world-process is an illusory presentation of knowledge. To this we reply that distinctions, being established by perception which is of superior validity, cannot explain them away by your reasoning. To explain it fully.—In the cognition "I know this", each person realises in his own experience, clearly and distinctly that the three—the knower, the known and knowledge—shine forth separately and without being mixed up with one another. Inference cannot go against the evidence of perception. Surely, it is never inferred that fire does not burn, since it is a substance.

Moreover, (in your argument that since thought and things always go together, they must be identical), the *hetu* (reason) is liable to be charged with the defect of *viruddha*. For 'going together' necessarily implies two objects. Surely knowledge cannot be said to be manifest along with itself; (it can only be manifest along with some object or other). Further, if (on your theory there is no universal (*sāmānya*) apart from the different particulars) what goes by the name of knowledge must be unaccompanied by what may be called knowledge in general, each item of knowledge must be said to be manifest in association with all objects; but it is not so.[20]

20. Though this stanza is found earlier in the printed books and manuscripts, this appears to be the proper place.

नीलाद्युपप्लवापेतस्वच्छचिन्मात्रसन्ततिः ।
स्वापादौ भासते नैवमर्थस्संवेदनात्पृथक् ।
तेन संवेदनं सत्यं संवेद्योऽर्थस्त्वसन्निति ।
तदेतदपरामृष्टस्ववाग्बाधस्य जल्पितम् ।
सहोपलम्भनियमो येनैवं सति हीयते ।
यस्माहते यदाभाति भाति तस्माहतेऽपि तत् ।
घटाहतेऽपि निर्भातः पटादिव घटस्स्वयम् ।
.... ॥

॥ इतः परं संवित्सिद्धिर्नोपलभ्यते ॥

नमो नमो यामुनाय यामुनाय नमो नमः ।
नमो नमो यामुनाय यामुनाय नमो नमः ॥

श्रीरस्तु.

The opponent may argue that in the state of deep sleep, the stream of pure consciousness alone shines forth uncontaminated by objects such as the jar. Therefore, objects are not distinct from knowledge. Knowledge (*samvit*) alone is real; while objects are unreal.

To this we reply that it is the prattle of one who fails to realise the contradiction in one's own statement; for there could be no invariable presentation of thought and things together, if the two were really identical. Moreover, if consciousness could manifest itself without objects, the latter too must present themselves in the absence of consciousness; even as the jar may manifest itself without the presentation of the cloth, which, in its turn may present itself without the awareness of the jar.

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Reviews

A Grammar of the Oldest Kannada Inscriptions. By Dr. A. N. Narasimhia, B.A., Ph.D., (London), Mysore University Publication.

"A Grammar of the Oldest Kannada Inscriptions" written by Prof. A. N. Narasimhia, M.A., L.T., Ph.D., (Lond.), and recently published by the University of Mysore is the first of the series relating to studies in Dravidian Philology to be published by that University. The book has been well-planned and falls into three main divisions:—

(1) Relating to Phonetic developments and studies in Morphological evolution,

(2) Containing the text of 66 Kannada Inscriptions ranging from 578 A.D. to 700 A.D. and

(3) Containing an Index of words found in the Inscriptions together with etymological notes therefor.

The studies are exhaustive and they take into consideration not only the inscriptions of the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. but also the subsequent inscriptions down to modern times for purposes of comparison. The author has shown great care in selecting the inscriptions which serve as the basis of his study; this is evident from the way in which he rejects as spurious several inscriptions as at pages xiv and xv. The author has used to great advantage his wide knowledge of Kannada grammars such as Karnāṭakakāvyāvalōkana, Karnāṭaka—Bhāṣabhūṣaṇa and Sabdamaṇidarpaṇa, none of which, however, is more ancient than the 11th century A.D.

His studies relating to the history of old Kannada 'P' and 'R' are very valuable to comparative philologists and are sure to throw a flood of light, especially on the problems connected with the Tamil language. These studies (pages 1 to 51) reveal the high critical acumen and research capacity of the author. The history of letters such as these two has been traced in a purely scientific manner.

Among many original suggestions the author has made in this book two are worthy of notice here. He seeks to explain the origin of the use of 'U' as a nominative singular case-termination in modern Kannada, throwing aside the view of Dr. Caldwell and Dr. Kittel that it came in for euphony. His suggestion is that 'U' came to be employed as the final letter in order to distinguish between verbal roots and nouns. One might refer to pages 122 to 133 for the arguments which lead to this conclusion. Again, he suggests that the origin of the instrumental case-

ending 'Im' or 'In' may be ultimately traced to 'Im' or 'In', an adverb of time in Kannada, meaning "from that time or afterwards." This may have served as a suitable implement for expressing the idea of the "By case" or the "From case."

The author is generally very cautious about making statements. For instance, at page 139 he says that there is no principle governing the use of 'Im' or 'In' in different connections as an instrumental sign. Where others would have tried to hazard plausible suggestions he usually refrains from doing so. This is evident in more places than one (See for instance also pages 147 and 152).

A statement such as the following will show that the author does not want to be dogmatic in regard to matters about which future researches might show that the view now taken should be revised. For instance, he says "It is not possible to state which is the earliest of these endings. 'Uḷ' seems to be earlier and 'Oḷ' is a later development". Again, with regard to the origin of past tense-suffix 'd' he says: "Kittel may be right, but definite evidence from other Dravidian languages has to be collected before accepting this as final, now that primitive Dravidian NTU is most probably the original from which DU is derived."

He has criticised Dr. Caldwell's view in certain places. He says for instance that it has not been possible to discover 'In' as a genitive case-ending, even though Dr. Caldwell said that 'In' was originally a genitive ending in Kannada as in Tamil and Malayalam. The author's attempt at pages 198 and 199 to disprove the view of Dr. Caldwell and Dr. Gundert that 'Tar' and 'Tā', 'Bar' and 'Bā' are alternative roots deserves notice. He is of the view that the principle of alternative roots is not found in the Dhātupāṭhas given in any of the Dravidian grammars.

Though the author sometimes subscribes to the traditional view of deriving certain Dravidian words ultimately from Indo-Aryan sources (witness for instance Ayya from Sanskrit Arya, wherein after all 'Ai' may be the Dravidian root and 'ru' the Sanskrit root), it is a matter for gratification to find that the author has approached the subject in most places in a dispassionate and unbiassed manner. A perusal is invited to page 120 wherein he discusses the origin of 'am', a suffix of the neuter. Against the view of Prof. L. V. Ramaswami Iyer, he makes this statement:—"It is not likely that 'am', a simple suffix of the neuter used in the singular and the plural of neuter 'a'—stems will be borrowed by a highly cultivated language like Tamil or Kannada from Sanskrit. Discussing the origin of 'Tan' or 'Tana' he appears to reject the theory that traces it to Sanskritic origin (vide page 218). Here he says "I believe that 'Tan' may be Dravidian. There is another word in Tamil, Tanmai

meaning "nature or inherent quality". If Tanmai is Dravidian, it is certain that Tanam (in such words as 'okkaltana=farming, ēletanam= poverty) is Dravidian also, as 'um' is a normal neuter formative in Tamil".

The book, on the whole, is sure to serve as a valuable guide to those that are interested in Indology in general and in Dravidian linguistics in particular. Prof. R. L. Turner of the London School of Oriental Studies can well be proud of the contribution his student has made to the advancement of knowledge in Dravidian Philology.

A. C. CHETTIAR

Indian Economics Vol. I. By G. B. Jather, M.A., and S. G. Beri, M.A., (Seventh Revised Edition, 1942.)

Indian Economics by Jather and Beri has served as a useful text-book for University students ever since its first publication in 1928. This is the seventh edition of Vol. I which has brought the work up to date. Some of the notable additions are, the 1941 population census, the impact of the war on agriculture, recent developments in debt relief and tenancy legislation, present tendencies in the progress of the Co-operative movement and the effect of the war on industrial development. The population figures according to the recent census are given in Appendix 1. If the figures had been incorporated in the chapter on Population, it would have facilitated comparison with previous decennial censuses and the trend in population growth to be noticed. The growth in population and the development of the war in the Near East have brought the problem of food supply or "means of subsistence" in the Malthusian language, to the forefront. Food planning has become an urgent problem; not only the production of more food stuffs but better distribution of what is produced. The diversion of some areas growing cash crops to food crops, the bringing under cultivation of lands hitherto regarded as waste and more intensive methods of cultivation, are some of the steps taken to augment production. Facilities for transporting food stuffs from surplus areas to deficit areas and the equitable distribution of available supplies by means of rationing are the problems to be tackled on the distribution side. Recent Debt Relief Legislation in Madras, in C.P. and Berar, in Bombay and in U.P. are given in a conspectus. While compulsory scaling down of debts reduces the burden of indebtedness in the present, it does not prevent the accumulation of debt in the future. The root cause of agricultural indebtedness in India is poverty and that can be removed only if agriculture is made 'a surplus economy' and not 'a deficit economy' as it is at present. In

the chapter on the Co-operative Movement, the controversy over single v. multipurpose society is examined. The Agricultural Credit Department of the Reserve Bank of India in its various publications has advocated the establishment of multipurpose societies. If the 'Curse of credit' is to be turned into a boon, the Co-operative societies should devote more attention to other important sides of the movement such as. improvement in the mode of production, supply of the various needs of the farmers and Co-operative marketing of produce. The effect of the war on the various industries of the country, the visit of the Roger Mission, the report of the American Technical Mission (Grady report) are dealt with in the chapter on Industries: A general Survey. The authors rightly point out that "While the last World War stimulated the development of Indian industries turning out consumer's goods, this war bids fair to encourage the establishment, of 'Key' industries turning out producers goods or capital goods' (page 490). Industrial development would have been more rapid if the Government had shown vision and sympathy in the early stages of the war and encouraged the importation of machinery either from England or from U.S.A.

In Appendix II, the problem of after-war economy and the action taken by the Government of India with regard to Post-war economic reconstruction in setting up the Reconstruction Committees and the Consultative Committee of Economists have been surveyed.

The incorporation of new matter has considerably enhanced the usefulness of the volume; it is bound to remain the standard text-book on Indian Economics.

R. N. PODUVAL

Sri Haridasar Kritigalu. By Vainika Vidwan Mysore L. Rajarao Kannada Sahitya Parishat.

The notation is very clear and the pieces from Haridasar Kritigalu are well chosen. It is a matter for congratulation that music books set in a correct manner to notation of Carnatic type are rendered available to the general and music loving public. We hope that more volumes of this kind will be consecutively published by the author, so that monumental and original works of this kind may encourage the methodical study and practice of music in the different languages.

K. VARADACHARIAR

APPENDIX I

Questionnaire used by the Investigator for investigating the villages in the Kurinjipady Firka, Cuddalore Taluk.

A. *General.*

1. Size of the family.
2. Name of the head of the family.
3. Caste.
4. How many are earners?—Males and females with their ages.

B. *Holdings.*

5. What is the extent of the lands—dry and wet—owned by the family—(*i*) In the village. (*ii*) Outside the village.

6. Land revenue paid by the family to Government.

7. What is the number of fragmented holdings and the approximate longest and shortest distance from one sub-division to another?

8. What are the sources of irrigation? Are the lands situated near the tail of the 'ayacut'?

9. What is the approximate value of the holdings?—Give the present market rate.

10. How many acres are left fallow?

11. Number of acres leased out and the income from those lands.

12. Number of acres taken on lease and the income derived.

C. *Occupation.*

13. Is the means of living purely agriculture? Are persons of the family non-cultivating land-lords or cultivating owners or tenants or agricultural labourers? How many workers are there in the family?

14. If the Occupation is mixed—that is, only partly agricultural—what is the principal occupation and what is the subsidiary?

15. If non-agricultural what is the nature of occupation and the income derived?

D. Cost of Cultivation.

16. How many acres are cultivated?—(wet and dry in acres).

17. How many workers are employed for the whole year?

18. Find the number of additional labourers for wet and dry acres separately and the expenses meted out for (1) Manuring (Is the manure bought wholly or partly?); (2) Ploughing; (3) Transplanting; (4) Weeding; (5) Reaping and threshing; (6) Sowing and seeds; (7) Cartage; (8) Other purposes.

19. What are the various kinds of implements in use? Who made them?—Give their cost, repair and depreciation value.

20. Number of cattle and livestock—Of what use are they to the family? Are they maintained for agricultural purposes only? Calculate the daily, monthly and yearly expenses on cattle.

21. Taxes other than land revenue paid by the family.

22. Any expenses not included above regarding the cultivation of crops.

E. Income.

23. Yield from the land in kind and in money for the chief crop.

24. Value of straw.

25. Value of other grains and vegetables raised from the land.

26. Income from other sources.

27. Value of the houses, jewels, carts, oil engines, looms, etc.

F. Indebtedness.

28. (*a*) What is the area mortgaged?—Is the mortgage with or without possession? (*b*) What is the date of the mortgage? Trace the history of the mortgage—What is the principal?—What is the rate of interest?—What is the amount of interest in arrears?

29. Pronotes and bonds—What is the principal?—What is the rate of interest on pronotes?—What is the duration of the loan and the amount outstanding?—What is the amount of interest in arrears?

30. Other kinds of loans—Pledge, crop loans or hand loans.

31. Sources of credit—

(*a*) Taccavi loans—What is the amount borrowed?—Duration of the loan—What is the rate of interest?—How many instal-

ments have been paid? Are Taccavi loans popular? For what purpose was the loan incurred? Are Taccavi loans easy to get?

(*b*) Co-operative Societies—What is the amount borrowed? Duration of the loan—Was the loan granted on personal security or on movable or immovable property? How many instalments have been paid? What is the overdue principal and interest? What is the rate of interest? State the purpose for which loans were taken.

(*c*) Land Mortgage Banks—What is the nature of the security? What is the amount and period of loan granted by the land mortgage bank? What is the rate percent? How many instalments have been paid? For what purpose money was borrowed? Do many resort to loans from the land mortgage banks? What are the difficulties in getting loans?

(*d*) Moneylenders—Are they ryots or professional moneylenders or saukhars? What is the amount borrowed from the money-lenders? What is the rate per cent? How many instalments have been paid? Is there any outstanding? Are there any arrears of interest? What is the effect of the Debt Relief Act on moneylenders? If there is a shrinkage of credit will the moneylenders withhold for a long time? How is the money obtained for paying kist and for meeting agricultural expenses? What is the amount of the scaled down debt? Is the Act popular?

32. What are the purposes for which debts were contracted? State roughly the amounts in each case.

33. Remarks, if any, of the investigator regarding credit facilities.

34. Marketing—Where is the produce sold? Does the broker go to the village? Is there any help from the Co-operative Sale Society? What are the difficulties in the marketing of the goods? What is the opinion of the ryots in the matter of weights and measures?

35. Savings Institutions—How are savings invested? Are Co-operative societies popular?

36. What is the estimated total amount of income of the family?

37. What is the estimated total expenditure?

38. What is the total debt?

39. State the approximate total value of property.

G. *Standard of Living.*

40. Standard of living. For the poor and lower middle classes calculate the daily or weekly expenses, for the rich monthly or yearly expenses.

Commodities and Services.	Quantity consumed.				Cost
	Daily.	Weekly.	Monthly.	Annually.	Rs. a. p.
1. Rice or Paddy ..					
2. Ragi, Cumbu and Varagu ..					
3. Dholl ..					
4. Spices ..					
5. Sugar and Jaggery ..					
6. Oil and Ghee ..					
7. Milk ..					
8. Eggs, Fish and Mutton ..					
9. Vegetables ..					
10. Coffee and Tea ..					
11. Betel and Nut ..					
12. Cigarettes and Beedies ..					
13. Drinks and Drugs ..					
14. Fuel—bought or collected ..					
15. Kerosine ..					
16. Clothing (Annual expense) ..					
17. House rent or repairs (Annual) ..					
18. Dhoby, barber and other servants (annual) ..					
19. Medicine ..					
20. Education ..					
21. Amusements, pilgrimages, feasts and festivals ..					

How many meals are taken daily and what is the menu usually?

41. General remarks of the investigator.

APPENDIX II

Tables relating to Indebtedness of the families in the villages of the Cuddalore Taluk, where an economic survey was conducted by me in May and June 1938.

TABLE 1

Statement showing the indebtedness of 113 families in the village of Ellayappenpattai (comprising of the hamlets of Nellikupam, Mainakshipet, Ellayappanpattai and Vazhapalam), Cuddalore Taluk.

	No. of families.	No. of members.	Assessment.	Holdings.	Total debt.	Debt per family.	Debt per head.	Debt per acre.	Debt per Re. of assessment.
			Rs. a. p.	Acs.	Rs.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
1. Labourers ..	30	157	..	..	2,994	99 12 10	19 1 1	..	..
2. Registered land-holders paying land revenue between Re. 1 to Rs. 100 ..	76	435	1,088 8 0	396	38,029	500 6 1	87 6 9	96 0 6	34 15 0
3. Registered land-holders paying land revenue above Rs. 100 ..	7	53	1,445 0 0	419	6,140	877 2 3	115 13 9	14 10 0	4 3 11

TABLE 2

Statement showing the indebtedness of 25 families in the Kottavancheri village, Cuddalore Taluk.

	No. of families.	No. of members.	Assessment.	Holdings.	Total debt.	Debt per family.	Debt per head.	Debt per acre.	Debt per Re. of assessment,
			Rs. a. p.	Acs.	Rs.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
1. Labourers ..	5	19	..	..	350	70 0 0	18 7 1	..	..
2. Registered land-holders paying land revenue between Re. 1 to Rs. 100 ..	16	96	562 12 0	106¼	10,306	644 2 0	107 5 8	97 0 0	18 5 0
3. Registered land-holders paying land revenue above Rs. 100 ..	4	38	1,050 0 0	190	9,590	2,397 8 0	252 5 11	50 7 7	9 2 2

TABLE 3

Statement showing the indebtedness of 150 families in the villages of Ellayappanpattai, Kottanvancheri, Elavarasampattu, Kurinjipaddy, Permathur, Kannady, Bhudhambhadi and Andikuppam, Cuddalore Taluk.

	No. of families.	No. of members.	Assessment.	Holdings.	Total debt.	Debt per family.	Debt per head.	Debt per acre.	Debt per Re. of assessment,
			Rs. a. p.	Acs.	Rs.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
1. Labourers ..	37	183	..	..	3,452	93 4 9	18 13 10	..	..
2. Registered land-holders paying land revenue between Re. 1 to Rs. 100 ..	100	561	1,708 4 0	526¾	50,886	58 13 9	90 11 4	96 9 8	29 12 7
3. Registered land-holders paying land revenue above Rs. 100 ..	13	110	2,726 0 0	688	20,505	1,577 4 11	186 6 7	29 8 3	7 8 4

Tables showing the purposes of borrowing in the villages surveyed by me in May and June '38.

TABLE 4

Statement showing purposes for which debts were incurred in 113 families in the village of Ellayapanpattai, Cuddalore Taluk.

Purpose of borrowing.		Rs.	Per cent.
Ancestral debts	..	21,770	46·6
Agricultural expenses	..	5,517	11·8
Buying land	..	1250	2·7
Marriages and social functions	..	4.530	9·7
Domestic expenses	..	3,665	7·8
Trade	..	3,312	7·1
Other purposes including payment of land revenue	..	6,679	14·3
Total	..	46,723	100

TABLE 5

Statement showing purposes for which debts were incurred in 25 families in the village of Kottavancheri, Cuddalore Taluk.

Purpose of borrowing.		Rs.	Per cent.
Ancestral debts	..	9,590	47·4
Agricultural expenses	..	1,290	6·4
Buying land	..	2,980	14·7
Domestic expenses	..	200	1
Ceremonies	..	3,000	14·8
Trade	..	..	..
Other purposes including payment of land revenue	..	3,186	15·7
Total	..	20,246	100

TABLE 6

Statement showing purposes for which debts were incurred in 150 families in the villages of Ellayappanpattai Kottavancheri, Elavarasampattu, Kannaddy, Peramathur, Bhudhambhady, Kurinjipady and Andikuppam, Cuddalore Taluk.

Purpose of borrowing.	Rs.	Per cent.
Ancestral debts ..	35,381	47·6
Agricultural expenses ..	7,042	9·5
Buying land ..	5,230	7·0
Domestic expenses ..	4,215	5·7
Marriages and social functions ..	8,990	12·0
Trade ..	3,312	4·4
Other purposes including payment of land revenue ..	10,233	13·8
Total ..	74,403	100

TABLE 7

Results of personal investigation by Mr. Sathianathan in 564 families in the Madras Presidency regarding Indebtedness.

	No. of families.	Extent of holdings and lands taken on lease.	Assessment paid.	Total debt.	Debt per head.	Debt per Re. of Assessment.	Debt per Acre.	Debt per family.
		Acs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1. Farm labourers owning no lands and paying no assessment or rent ..	23	..	..	1,739	15	..	..	76
2. Registered landholders and tenants paying land revenue or rent of Re. 1 to Rs. 100 ..	306	4,483.03	11,143/8	3,23,438	211	72	29	1,057
3. Registered landholders and tenants paying land revenue or rent of Rs. 100 and above ..	235	24,738.0	1,35,453/4	10,79,186	918	44	8	4,592

PURPOSE OF LOANS.

TABLE 8[1]

Payment of prior debts ..	37
Marriages and other ceremonies ..	10
Payment of land revenue ..	2
Family expenses and relief of distress ..	9
Agricultural expenses ..	20
Land improvement ..	9
Education ..	1
Trade ..	3
Purchase of land ..	8
Construction of houses ..	1
Total ..	100

TABLE 9[2]

Tamaraipatti Village—Madura Taluk

Debts classified according to purpose:	Rs.
Cultivation expenses ..	4,950
Purchase of bulls ..	7,010
Purchase of lands ..	8,825
Improvement to lands ..	1,100
Discharging prior debts ..	37,225
Building new houses ..	11,100
Family expenses ..	11,810
Litigation expenses ..	1,000
Trade ..	2,000
Purchase of a motor car ..	2,500
Payment of kist or lease amount ..	1,110

1. Madras Banking Enquiry Committee Report.
2. The Madras Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee—Investigator's Report.

TABLE 10[3]

Sivapuri and Gavarapet villages—Chidambaram Taluk.

Purposes of borrowing:		Amount.	Percentage.
		Rs.	
Maintenance	..	4,925	11·16
Purchase of lands	..	9,900	22·43
Agricultural improvements	..	2,960	6·71
Purchase of cattle	..	460	1·04
Land revenue	..	690	1·56
Liquidation of old debts	..	10,450	23·68
Marriage and funeral	..	3,705	8·04
Education	..	2,700	6·12
Interest payments	..	850	1·93
Medical	..	169	0·39
Current interest due	..	6,025	12·65
Miscellaneous	..	1,295	2·93

TABLE 11[4]

Results from 141 selected villages in the Madras Presidency.

Purpose of borrowing:		Amount.	Per cent.
		Rs.	
Payment of prior debts	..	44,85,400	25·1
Marriage and other ceremonies	..	18,80,761	10·5
Land revenue	..	5,84,173	3·3
Relief of distress	..	10,88,377	6·1
Agricultural expenses	..	17,87,457	10·0
Improvements to land	..	7,88,709	4·4
Education to children	..	2,47,337	1·4
Trade	..	23,01,937	12·9
Purchase of land	..	24,74,715	13·8
Construction of houses	..	10,08,416	5·6
Other expenses	..	12,38,384	6·9
Total	..	1,78,85,666	100

3. The Problem of Rural Indebtedness—Dr. B. V. Narayanaswamy Naidu and Mr. V. Venkataraman.

4. Report on Agricultural Indebtedness—W. R. S. Sathianathan.

TABLE 12

Purpose of Sales and Borrowings for two typical villages in each district in Madras Presidency from 1930 to 1934—(Prepared from Mr. Satyanathan's report).

YEAR.	Agricultural purposes.	Trade.	Kist.	Marriage expenses.	Discharging of old debts.	Other purposes.	Purposes not Ascertainable.
1930: Sales ..	72,705	21,413	5,424	24,743	10,67,453	1,38,475	2,35,274
Borrowings ..	66,575	46,802	2,656	33,042	8,25,425	1,60,630	1,20,169
1931: Sales ..	22,741	5,314	1,380	10,109	13,84,426	70,306	2,09,252
Borrowings ..	31,406	66,182	1,577	17,934	8,85,695	85,592	80,659
1932: Sales ..	43,941	16,046	5,091	11,966	15,29,892	92,063	1,95,002
Borrowings ..	46,831	38,798	1,115	32,988	7,64,965	96,878	2,02,530
1933: Sales ..	46,290	17,662	8,803	11,940	13,54,389	61,546	1,94,726
Borrowings ..	29,064	27,231	3,049	24,492	6,40,839	1,32,634	69,166
1934: Sales ..	33,218	11,473	3,539	22,805	1,15,235	72,816	1,79,168
Borrowings ..	70,664	27,934	975	27,667	6,36,660	75,099	55,483

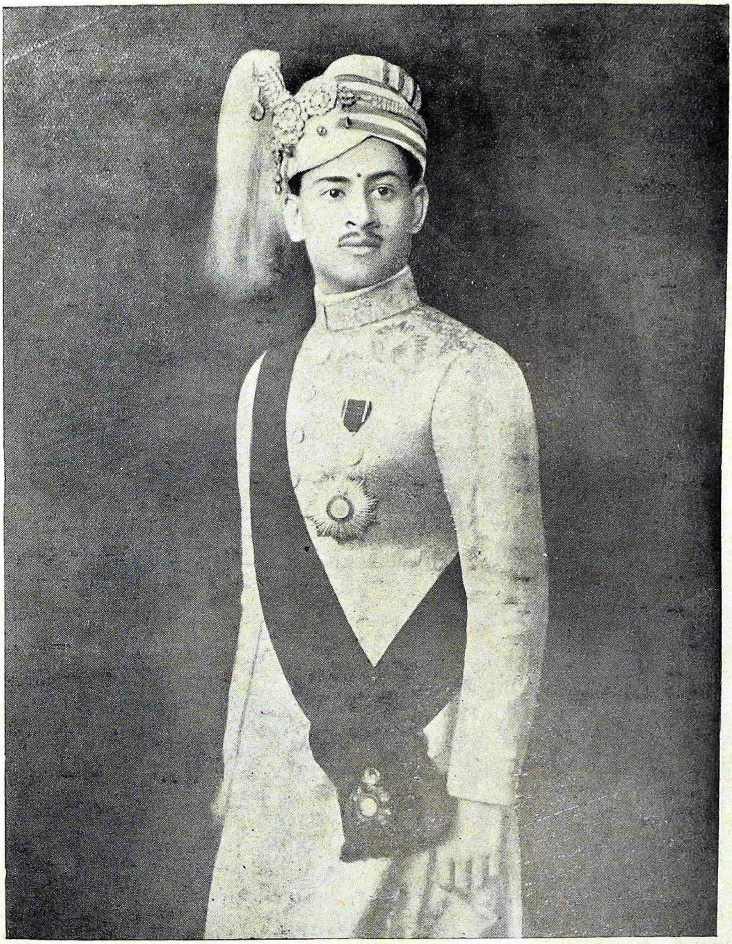
TABLE 13

Nature of indebtedness in the villages surveyed by me in the South Arcot District—

Profession of Debtor.	Mortgages. Amount.	Nature and period (yrs.)	Rate of interest.	Creditor.
Nellikuppam.	Rs.		%	
1. Cultivating owner ..	1,000	Simple 6	12	Ryot.
2. Do. do. ..	100	Usufructary-2	..	Do.
3. Labourer and cultivating owner ..	..	..	..	..
4. Do. ..	..	..	..	..
5. Do. ..	..	..	..	..
6. Do. ..	..	..	..	..
7. Labourer ..	80	Usufructary-2	..	Ryot money lender.
8. Owner and Labourer	250	Simple-1	12	Do.
9. Labourer ..	..	..	..	..
10. Labourer ..	25	Simple-3	18	Do.
11. Labourer ..	100	Usufructary-20	18	Do.
12. Rich Agriculturist and moneylender.	..	..	..	.. ..
13. Agriculturist ..	..	..	..	Ryot money lender.
14. Labourer ..	100	Usufructary-10	..	..
15. Labourer and owner	..	..	..	..
16. Labourer ..	..	..	..	..
17. Do. ..	..	..	..	..
18. Owner Cultivator ..	..	..	..	..
19. Do. ..	..	..	..	..
20. Owner and Labourer	37	Simple-1	12	Ryot money lender.
	35	Usufructary-1	..	Do.
	40	Do. -3	..	Ryot.

Profession of Debtor.	Mortgages. Amount.	Nature and period (yrs.)	Rate of Interest.	Creditor.
	Rs.		%	
21. Owner Cultivator ..	100	Simple–1	12	Ryot money lender.
22. Rich Agriculturist ..	..	..	..	
Ellayappanpettai.				
23. Agriculturist ..	600	Simple–20	12	Do.
	1,500	Do. 14	12	Do.
	300	Usufructary–10	..	Do.
24. Do. ..	..	..	..	..
25. Do. ..	..	..	..	..
26. Do. ..	..	..	..	..
27. Owner Cultivator ..	50	Usufructary–4	..	Do.
28. Agriculturist and sheep owner ..	..	..	..	..
29. Labourer ..	..	..	..	..
30. Village carpenter ..	..	..	..	..
31. Labourer ..	..	..	..	..
32. Agriculturist ..	..	..	..	..
Vazhapalam.				
33. Agriculturist ..	..	..	..	..
34. Agriculturist ..	1,000	Simple–8	12	Ryot money lender.
35. Weaver ..	..	..	..	..
36. Do. ..	200	Simple–12	15	Do.
37. Weaver and Agriculturist ..	..	..	..	..
38. Agriculturist rich ..	..	..	..	..
39. Weaver ..	..	..	..	..

Profession of Debtor.	Mortgages.			
	Amount.	Nature and period (yrs.)	Rate of Interest.	Creditor.
	Rs.		%	
Rajankuppam.				
40. Agriculturist ..	600	Usufructary–8	..	Do.
Vazhapalam.				
41. Weaver and Agriculturist ..	825	Simple–9	18	Do.
	100	Usufructary–15	..	Do.
	200	Do. 8 months	..	Do.
42. Village Munsiff and Agriculturist ..	200	Simple–5	15	Do.
	100	Usufructary–2	..	Do.
	600	Do. –9	..	Do.
	200	Do. –8	..	Do.
43. Blacksmith and Agriculturist ..	..	..	..	..
Kottavancheri.				
44. Agriculturist ..	2,200	Simple–2	153/9/8 in 20 instalments	Land Mortgage Bank (Cuddalore).
45. Agricultural labourer	80	Simple–2	12	Ryot money lender.
46. Owner of land and labourer ..	160	Simple–8	12	Do.
47. Agriculturist ..	700	Simple–24	12	Do.
48. Agriculturist contractor ..	..	..	..	..
49. Agricultural worker	600	Simple–12	12	Do.
50. Karnam and Agriculturist ..	250	Simple–6	10	Do.



His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore.

HER HIGHNESS THE MAHARANI SETU PARVATHI BAYI OF TRAVANCORE.

The Rajah Saheb of Chettinad, Kt., LL.D.

University Notes

THE ANNUAL CONVOCATION.

The most colourful and memorable event of the year was the annual convocation which was conducted with unprecedented splendour and *eclat* on the 9th December, 1942. As the orator of the Convocation, we had the rare good fortune of securing the services of a personage of no less eminence and distinction than the enlightened ruler of Travancore. His Highness the Maharaja and Her Highness the Maharani Setu Parvathi Bayi were gracious enough to accept our hospitality and spend two days at Annamalainagar.

His Highness the Maharaja placed the University under a further debt of gratitude by the gracious announcement of a very handsome donation of a lakh of rupees to be utilised for any purpose deemed fit by the University. It is understood that this amount will be used for the construction of new hostels for the students; and the residential facilities available to the undergraduates will thereby be enlarged. It is but fitting that these hostels should be named after Their Highnesses so as to serve as a perpetual monument of Their Highnesses' abiding and deep interest in higher education in general and in our University in particular.

OUR PRO-CHANCELLOR'S NEW ENDOWMENTS.

The munificent grant of Rs. 25,000 made by our Founder Pro-Chancellor, The Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettiar of Chettinad, has given a fresh impetus to the efforts towards the enrichment of the store of Tamil songs. This, however, is not the only endowment to this University which the Rajah Saheb has been pleased to announce during this year. To commemorate the visit of His Highness the Maharaja and Her Highness the Maharani Sethu Parvathi Bayi of Travancore to this University and to express our sense of gratitude to His Holiness Srilasri Kasivasi Swaminatha Tambiran Swamigal for his liberal endowments to the University, our Founder Pro-Chancellor has made an endowment of Rs.

9000 towards the award of prizes in the name of Their Highness and of H. H. Srilasri Kasivasi Swaminatha Tambiran Swamigal of the Kasi Mutt.

* * * * * *

The Degree of Doctor of Letters *Honoris Causa* was conferred on the following distinguished persons:—

1. His Excellency Sir Arthur Oswald James Hope, G.C.I.E., M.C., Governor of Madras.

2. His Highness Sir Bala Rama Varma, the Maharaja of Travancore, G.C.I.E.

3. Her Highness Maharani Setu Parvathi Bayi.

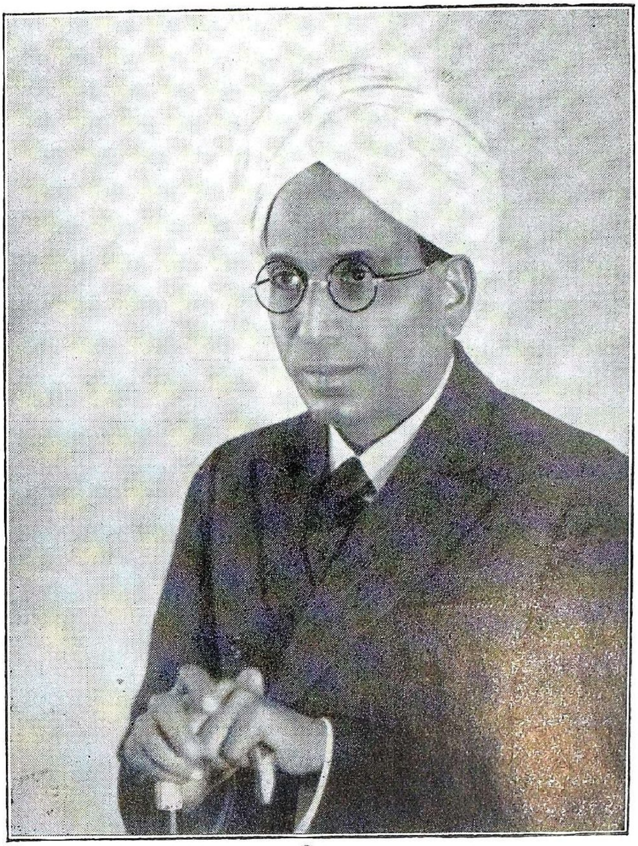
4. The Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettiar of Chettinad, LL.D.

A MUNIFICENT BENEFACTION.

We are happy to record our heart-felt appreciation of the philanthropy and public spiritedness of Mr. RM. T. Alagappa Chettiar, M.A., Barrister-at-Law who has recently made a donation of five lakhs of rupees to the University for the promotion of technological education and research. This is the highest donation the University had the good fortune to receive ever since it came into being through the princely munificence of our Founder-Pro-Chancellor, the Rajah Saheb of Chettinad. The sense of propriety of Mr. Alagappa Chettiar in earmarking the amount for technology can hardly be over-valued. It is generally recognised that South India woefully lacks in facilities for a sound training in technology. It can now be confidently expected that this defect will be largely remedied by the institution of a technological course on sound lines in this University, made possible by this splendid benefaction.

Still in his thirties, Mr. Alagappa Chettiar has taken his place among the outstanding business magnates of South India. Besides being the Managing Director of Messrs. Ramal and Co., Ltd., and the Managing Agent of Ayer Marus Rubber Estates, Ltd., he is the founder and sole proprietor of an enterprising concern in the Cochin State, known as the Cochin Textiles. He took to business early after he had equipped himself with all the culture and erudition that higher education in India and

MR. RM. ALAGAPPA CHETTIAR, M.A., BAR-AT-LAW.



SIR K. V. REDDI NAIDU, K.C.I.E., D.LITT., M.L.C.

abroad has to offer. He is an M.A. of the University of Madras in English Language and Literature and he was called to the Bar from Middle Temple, London in 1933. While in London, he availed himself of the unique opportunity of working in the Chartered Bank. He was the first Indian to enjoy this privilege. Among his varied activities may be mentioned his keen interest in flying which secured for him the Pilot Certificate while in London.

True to the traditions of the great Nagarathar Community of which he is a distinguished member, Mr. Chettiar believes in giving without stint. The spontaneity of the gift is rivalled only by its timeliness, because our country, on the threshold of an industrial regeneration, is in dire need of men equipped with sound and scientific training in technology in its various aspects. If the technological training at the Annamalai University is able to meet this demand even to a partial extent, Mr. Alagappa Chettiar will have the gratification of having served his country nobly and well.

H. H. SRILASRI KASIVASI SWAMINATHA TAMBIRAN SWAMIGAL'S ENDOWMENTS.

We express our grateful thanks to H. H. Srilasri Kasivasi Swaminatha Tambiran Swamigal Avergal for the liberal endowment of Rs. 31,000 for the award of prizes. With this endowment, the donation the Swamiji has made to the University has exceeded a lakh of rupees. In grateful appreciation of the untiring efforts of H. H. the Swamiji for the promotion of Tamil learning and Music, the Swamiji has been made a life member of the Senate of our University.

THE LATE SIR K. V. REDDI NAIDU.

It is our melancholy duty to record our profound sorrow at the unexpected and sudden demise, on the 10th September, 1942 of Rai Bahadur Sir K. Venkatareddi Naidu, K.C.I.E., D.Litt., M.L.C., Vice-Chancellor of our University.

Sir K. V. Reddi Naidu belongs to that small band of eminent contemporary statesmen and administrators who have had the privilege of

shaping the destinies of our country on progressive lines. His is a rich and splendid record of public service of which any one could justly feel proud. He filled many high offices with remarkable distinction, including the most exalted one viz., the Governorship of the province. For over quarter of a century his services were placed ungrudgingly at the disposal of the country, and of this province in particular. As early as 1920, he was the Minister of Agriculture and Industries to the Madras Government under the reformed constitution. He was a parliamentarian of no mean order, having been a member of the Imperial Legislative Council (1920) and Member of the Madras Legislative Council (1920-'26). He was appointed Indian Delegate to the League Assembly at Geneva in 1928. He succeeded the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastriar, P.C., C.H. as Agent to the Government of India in South Africa (1929-'32) and in 1940 again succeeded the Rt. Hon'ble gentleman as the Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University. Thus he came to us full of honours and glory, with few fresh laurels to win. In denying himself the restful retirement which was his legitimate due and putting himself again into harness as the honorary Vice-Chancellor of this University, he was actuated by the loftiest of motives, viz., the desire to place at the disposal of the rising generation his rich and varied experience garnered from different corners of the globe. He brought to bear on his new duties a vigour, enthusiasm and freshness of outlook which many a younger man might envy. His term of office, though brief, was marked by many significant achievements. Thus he succeeded in persuading the Government to make a substantial addition to the annual grant to the University and to make liberal contributions for the enlargement of the science laboratories, for the promotion of Tamil Learning and Research and for the improvement of the civic amenities of the University colony. Not the least of his achievements has been the fostering of a healthy social life among students and teachers and the fuller realisation of the main ideal of a residential university. We offer our heartfelt condolences to the members of the bereaved family.

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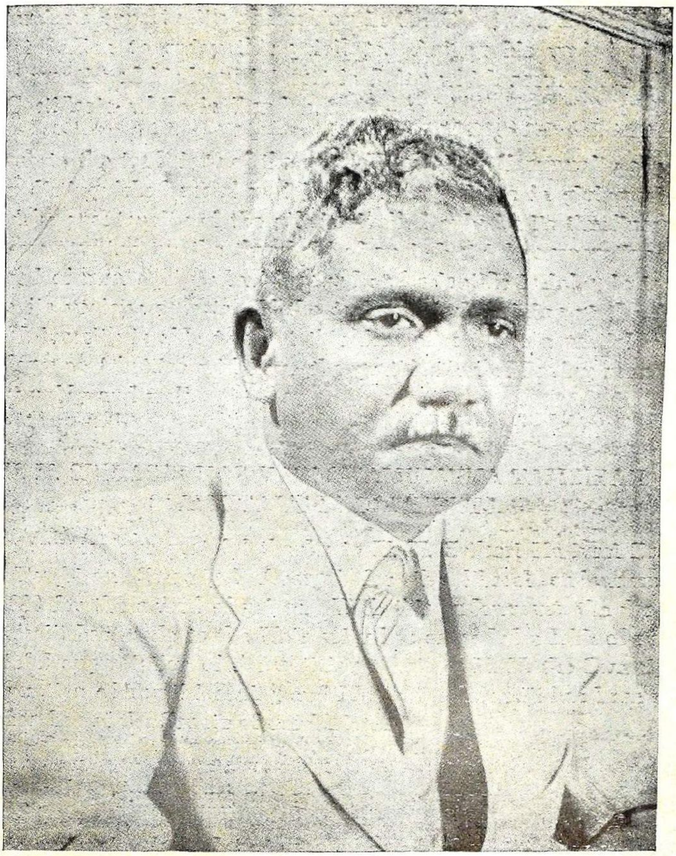
Mr. R. Ramanujachari, Professor of Philosophy and Dean of the Faculty of Arts, acted as Vice-Chancellor from the 17th September, 1942 to the 20th November, 1942 when Mr. M. Ruthnaswamy, M.A. Cantab, Bar-at-Law, C.I.E. took charge as permanent Vice-Chancellor.



Mr. M. Ruthnaswamy, M.A. (Cantab), Bar-at-Law, C.I.E.,
Vice-Chancellor.

OUR VICE-CHANCELLOR.

We take this opportunity to welcome into our midst Mr. M. Ruthnaswamy, our new Vice-Chancellor. After a brilliant career at the Madras University, he proceeded to Cambridge for higher studies and, on return, joined the Baroda College as Assistant Professor of English and History. In 1918, he was appointed Professor of History and Politics at the Pachaiyappa's College and in 1921 he accepted the Principalship of that premier institution, the destinies of which he guided until his appointment in 1928 as Principal of the Law College, Madras. His interest in political and social problems of the country was more than academic. In the midst of his arduous duties as Professor and Principal, he still found it possible to place his varied talents at the service of the public and serve the citizens of Madras as Councillor of the Madras Corporation (1921-23), and the wider public as a member of the Madras Legislative Council (1921-'26) and later as its President (1925-'26) and also as a member of the Central Legislative Assembly (1927). In recognition of the distinction achieved by him in these walks of life, he was appointed Member of the Madras Public Services Commission where he has established a tradition for justice and fairplay. A scholar of great repute and thinker of a very high order, he has placed the literary world under a deep debt by his publications, such as *The Political Philosophy of Mr. Gandhi; The Political Theory of the Government of India; The Making of the State* and *Some Influences that made the British Administrative System in India.* Under the aegis of a Vice-Chancellor of his scholarly eminence and administrative experience, we are confident that the institution will grow to its full stature, realizing in a more abundant measure the lofty ideals with which it was founded.

ATHLETICS AND SPORTS.

We have taken the initiative in aquatic sports. The Boat Club was opened by Sir Meverel Statham on the 30th November, 1942 and it is hoped that the students of the University will take full advantage of this facility to distinguish themselves as oarsmen.

OUR STAFF.

We congratulate Panditamani M. Kadiresa Chettiar, Adviser, Tamil Research, on the conferment on him of the title of Mahamahopadhyaya

by the Government of India. He was invested with the insignia of this honour by His Excellency the Governor of Madras on the occasion of the last Convocation.

* * * * * *

We place on record our appreciation of the very valuable services rendered by Rao Saheb Dr. B. V. Narayanaswami Naidu, M.A., Ph.D., B. Com., Bar-at-Law, as Editor of this Journal ever since its inception about eleven years ago. We take this opportunity to congratulate him on his appointment as Principal of the Pachaiyappa's College and wish him all success in his new office.

* * * * * *

We congratulate Rao Saheb Professor C. S. Srinivasachariar on the conferment on him of the title of Rao Bahadur by the Government of India.

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Mr. A. Chidambaranatha Chettiar, Senior Lecturer in Tamil and Mr. K. R. Venkatasubban, Lecturer in Botany, have been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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